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California JOURNAL

Independent analysis of politics and government

IN SEARCH OF THE CALIFORNIA DREAM

***California Journal's* 25th Anniversary retrospective on politics, personalities and issues in the Golden State.**

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Reshaping Health Care in America

Dr. Walter Broadnax, deputy secretary of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, delivered the keynote address at the 1993 California Public Affairs Forum.

Searching for a Cure

Dismayed by skyrocketing costs and a lack of universal coverage, Americans have made reforming their health care system a top priority. But achieving consensus on a plan of reform is not easy.

That's why the California Public Affairs Forum recently convened a panel of experts to study this issue. The forum is a biennial event sponsored jointly by the California Chamber of Commerce, the Bay Area Council, Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce and Hitachi, Ltd. Its purpose is to provide a forum for discussion of important issues facing California and the nation. Begun in 1987, the forums have examined state transportation problems, the jobs/housing balance, air quality control, and education reform.

No one on the panel questioned the need for health care reform. "The medical treatment that people in this country get is probably the best in the world. But it costs too much and anywhere from 34 to 37 million of us are not covered," said John Palmer, White House correspondent for Christian Science Monitor radio.

"We have in this country a moral imperative to secure health care for everyone," said Dr. Paul F. Griner, president of the American College of Physicians.

Dr. Griner and the other panelists agree that a national health care system is key to controlling runaway health care costs and eliminating the inequities in the current system. They are optimistic that the U.S. will ultimately adopt such a plan.

Fueling the panel's optimism are signs that many Americans are changing their attitudes about health care. "Health care reform has already begun in this country," said Ms. Julia Thomas, president and CEO of Bobrow / Thomas and Associates, an architectural firm that specializes in health care facilities design. "We've seen a huge move toward managed care, preventive care, and a more educated consumer."

"Health care reform is of great interest to us," said Yoshiro Kuwata, a director of Hitachi. "As an employer of more than 16,000 Americans, we are bound to feel the impact of any change in the nation's health care system."

Dr. Paul F. Griner, president of the American College of Physicians

We at Hitachi share the panel's optimism about the future of health care in the U.S. We are proud to play a role in providing a forum for discussion of issues facing us all.

To obtain copies of the speakers' presentations, please write: Hitachi, P.O. Box 35146, Los Angeles, CA 90035.

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1970 25 1995 Public Service Journalism

California JOURNAL

Independent analysis of politics and government

In search of the California dream

With this issue, *California Journal* passes the quarter-century mark. When we began publication in 1970, a Californian — Richard Nixon — was president of the United States. A future president — Ronald Reagan — was governor of California. The state's government, schools, universities and economy were indeed golden, the stuff of myth and the envy of the nation. Today, that golden image has been tarnished by a deep recession, a spate of natural disasters and self-inflicted political wounds that seem to emphasize divisiveness at the expense of community. Thus, we begin our 26th year of public-affairs journalism with the words of 14 California journalists, writers and activists, who explore the dream that has been, and continues to be, California. The *Journal* will return to this theme throughout 1995 with a major article each month on one aspect of the California dream.

Lou Cannon 6
A distinguished journalist for The Washington Post, *Lou Cannon is the author of many books, including "President Reagan, the Role of a Lifetime."*

Richard Reeves 12
An author and columnist, Richard Reeves has written seven books, including "Convention." His writing regularly appears in The New Yorker *and* The New York Times Magazine.

Martin Anderson 18
Martin Anderson is a senior fellow with the Hoover Institution at Stanford University in Palo Alto.

Thomas R. Hoeber 21
A co-founder of California Journal, *Tom Hoeber is the* Journal's *publisher.*

Kevin Starr 24
Kevin Starr, the author of many books on California history, recently was appointed state librarian. He also is a member of the faculty at the University of Southern California.

William Kahrl 31
William Kahrl, opinion editor for The Sacramento Bee, *is the editor of "The California Water Atlas" and author of "Water and Power."*

Mollie Lowery 35
Mollie Lowery is co-founder and former executive director of Los Angeles Men's Place (LAMP), a shelter for the homeless mentally ill.

Barry Gifford 37
A novelist, poet, journalist and screenwriter, Barry Gifford is the co-author of "Jack's Book," an oral biography of Jack Kerouac, and the author of a screenplay based on Kerouac's "On the Road" for Francis Ford Coppola. Among his many novels is "Wild at Heart."

William Wong 41
William Wong is a columnist for The Oakland Tribune.

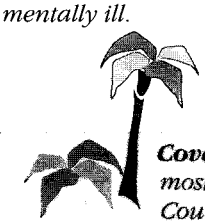
Maxine Waters 43
Maxine Waters is a Democratic congresswoman from Los Angeles. She previously served in the California Assembly.

Leo Estrada 45
A demographer with the School of Public Policy and Social Research at UCLA, Leo Estrada specializes in the Latino population in the southwestern United States.

Larry Berg 51
Larry Berg, PhD, is the founder of the Jesse M. Unruh Institute of Politics at the University of Southern California.

Mary Ellen Leary 53
A veteran journalist and author, Mary Ellen Leary has covered California politics for 40 years. She has been a correspondent for The Economist *since 1967.*

Larry Liebert 56
For the past decade, Larry Liebert has written "Washington Perspective" for California Journal. *A former correspondent for the* San Francisco Chronicle, *Liebert currently is editor of* Congressional Monitor.



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Cover: *We are honored to launch our 25th Anniversary year with artwork loaned to us by one of California's most significant artists: Wayne Tiebaud's, "Palm Road," 1990. (Watercolor over hand-ground etching.) Courtesy of The Campbell-Thiebaud Gallery, San Francisco. Private collection.*

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Up Front

UMBRAGE

Retirement benefits. Assemblyman Mike Gotch (D-Somewhere Other than San Diego) didn't run for re-election this year and so is out of a job. But don't fret for the Gotch family. Mike's wife, Janet Lee Gotch, just landed a well-paying niche on the Integrated Waste Management Board — thanks to an 11th-hour appointment from Speaker Willie Brown Jr. (D-San Francisco). The job pays $95,403 a year. By the by, the speaker's press release lists Ms. Gotch's home as Yountville, far far far from the San Diego district her husband has represented for the past four years. Then, the speaker shoved a few more noses into the corn mush. San Francisco attorney Phillip Ryan was named to the Unemployment Insurance Appeals Board at $97,000 per year. Kamala Harris, who had been on the UIAB, was switched to the California Medical Assistance Commission, where she'll earn $72,000 come January. Harris has been described as Brown's "close personal friend," and you can read that anyway you want. Brown, of course, w2asn't alone in helping his friends. Assemblyman Bill Morrow (R-Oceanside) hired Faye Hill, wife of jailed former Senator Frank Hill (R-Whittier), as a district aide — at $60,000 per year. Meanwhile, Senate Rules found a nice niche for one of its own — former Senator David Roberti (D-Van Nuys) also was given a post on the Unemployment Insurance Appeals Board. As former Chicago Mayor Richard Daley used to say, "If you can't help your own, what good are ya."

The Ox Bow Society. You don't have to look very far these days to discover that people are losing faith in government. As if the '94 election wasn't enough, now comes the Voter Fraud Task Force, a group put together by the same folks who brought us Proposition 187. The VFTF, honchoed by 187 co-author Harold Ezell, claims the November 1994 election was contaminated by "widespread fraud." So, VFTF set up an 800 hotline (800-FRAUD-90) and ran radio ads in several metropolitan areas, asking that citizens come forward with their favorite voter-fraud suspicion. Ezell's group then planned to investigate each claim. Various state and local agencies, of course, do the same thing. Attorney General Dan Lungren has a voter-fraud hotline. The Secretary of State's Office investigates complaints of voter fraud, as do registrars of voters in every county. But Ezell doesn't trust the government — any government — to do the job.

"I've lost faith in the fact that nobody has paid one bit of attention to voter fraud ... after the elections are held," Ezell said. "I intend to ride this out to some sort of conclusion. If the elected officials don't like it, that's tough."

Ezell said his group screens callers for those with "hard evidence." If one is deemed legitimate, an attorney is sent to find the caller and take a sworn statement. One ultimate goal, he said, is not necessarily to overturn a particular election but to stop implementation of the federal Motor Voter law, set to begin this month, and eventually to get Congress to repeal it.

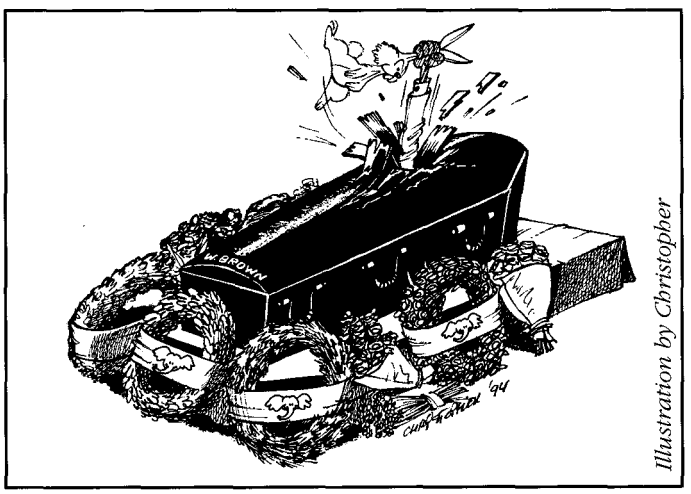

Illustration by Christopher

The latest speakership battle

Out of the shadows. As so often happens in unusual circumstances and in times of great stress, ordinary people find the right path through the confusion, pettiness and intensity of their situation. And so it was with E. Dotson Wilson, chief clerk of the Assembly, a public servant who normally dwells in the shadows but who last month was thrust into a harsh and unrelenting spotlight. By dint of circumstance, Wilson found himself presiding over a deadlocked Assembly brawling over the election of a new speaker. Arrayed on one side, the imperious himself — Willie Lewis Brown Jr. (D-San Francisco), who had appointed Wilson to his job. Arrayed on the other, James Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga) and the newly emergent Republican caucus. Yet amid the confusion and the tension, and with Democrats especially hurling angry comments in his direction, Wilson allowed no technical hocus-pocus to determine the fate of the house. The house itself, through a majority of those present and voting, would decide. And he stuck to this course, even though his rulings scuttled a neat parliamentary shuffle by Democrats and tripped up Brown's open-field run for the speakership. Apparently, the act of doing damage to his old benefactor caused Wilson great stress, and he did not report for work the next day. But in his one day in the spotlight, he acted as a true public servant — not in the interest of Democrats or Republicans, but in the interest of California.

"Man comes to power through his bad qualities and keeps power through his good ones."
— *La Rochefoucauld*

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front." So, rush your items to Up Front, 2101 K Street, Sacramento, CA 95816. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

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Two Cents Worth

COMMENTARY

The dream alive

It was a time of optimism when *California Journal* began 25 years ago. In his state-of-the state address, fully reported in the first issue, then-Governor Ronald Reagan wondered at the coming decade: "Dare we envision what heights we could reach...."

Looking back, Reagan's optimism seems oddly out of place. He was the first politician in the state to run against the government he wanted to head. Indeed, that same state-of-the-state address warned of "the need to bring government to heel...."

But if Reagan argued that government was the wrong choice in some areas, at that point in his career, he still believed there were some areas where government involvement should be increased. For instance, that speech pointed with pride to new environmental regulations on business.

Reagan may have had doubts about the value of some government programs, but he never doubted that California was a glorious place that could fulfill the dreams of most of its citizens. Reagan's whole career, from the movies to the White House, was a shining example.

Twenty-five years later, not only is there much more doubt about the capacity of government to deal with most problems, but the dream itself has been called into question.

Is California still a place where dreams come true?

This 25th anniversary issue of *California Journal* attempts to look at that question from several points of view. During the remainder of this year, we will return to some aspect of the question in each issue.

Some argue that the dream — if it ever really existed — has run out; that California has started a downward spiral and will never recover its former glory. Others believe we are only going through a bad period and that the state's natural advantages of geography, and the skill of its people, will make things better still.

There is plenty of evidence to bolster the pessimistic view. The state only now is beginning to come out of the worst recession since the Great Depression, and the recovery seems slow and painful. Many of the new jobs pay far less than the ones that departed. Crime seems more violent and, despite statistics to the contrary, more prevalent than ever. Our freeways are clogged; we seem stuck with a drought that wet years can't cure; and Mother Nature seems intent on giving us more than our fair share of natural disasters. Perhaps most distressing to many people — as the results of the last election show — the state seems to be filling up with an inordinate number of immigrants who speak strange languages and swamp our public facilities. To this angry electorate, the dream is something that comes in a limited quantity. If we allow too many people to have a piece of it, there won't be any left for the rest of us.

But even the optimists admit that the current period is tough.

And to make it worse, we are being plagued by politicians who have discovered they can succeed by fomenting our fears. It's a politics that suits the times and narrow political interests but is short-sighted. The dream, the opportunity to get ahead, is in short supply, these politicians say, and the only way for us to hold on to what we have is to deny the dream to others.

It's an attitude that's just plain wrong.

The dream about "possibilities" in California has held us together and made our successes possible. This dream brought the Spanish here, the gold panners, the immigrants from our own Midwest and, now, from around the globe. They all came because they shared the dream. It enabled them to turn desert into fertile farmlands or urban powerhouses; to establish the greatest public university system on earth; to become the home for the information revolution, and to be a wellspring of entertainment for the entire planet.

The new immigrants to California, who are the source of distress to so many, in fact are the people who will carry the dream into the next millenium.

It may be that for some old-timers, California doesn't look like the place they dreamed it would be. But for our newest citizens, the dream is very much alive.

— *Richard Zeiger*

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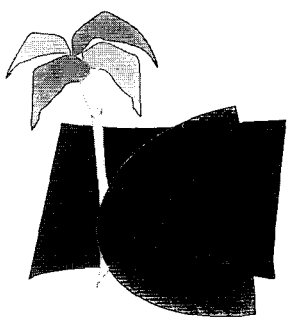
The Abiding Dream

By Lou Cannon



California has long been celebrated as a land of limitless possibilities, but the current wisdom is that the state's best days are history and that the shining, California dream is dead.

Three years ago *Time* magazine devoted an entire issue to a blunt obituary called "California: The Endangered Dream." Since then, the state has survived drought, riots, fires and earthquakes while suffering from business exodus, white flight, and hyperbolic fears of being overwhelmed by illegal immigrants. Public opinion surveys by venerable California pollster Mervin Field have found record levels of pessimism.

"Everywhere you go, you see people giving up on California," said Kevin Starr, one of the few historians who does not share this pessimism.

Certainly, the implicit premise of the 1994 gubernatorial race was that the good life is gone in California. Republican Governor Pete Wilson blamed immigrants, crime and a federal government that mandates programs without paying for them. Democratic challenger Kathleen Brown blamed Wilson and declining opportunities. Wilson won handily, partly because he has been a capable governor under difficult circumstances and partly because his campaign was as skillful as his opponent's was inept. But even Wilson acknowledges that California faces continuing hard times.

> "With our diverse population and the kind of new businesses that are being generated, we could become the first universal nation."
>
> —James K. Didion

What has happened to California's fabled optimism? Is the California dream susceptible of restoration or is it destined to be only a memory of a happier time when solutions to the state's problems seemed within the grasp of its citizens and their political system? These questions are the subject of this essay, which examines issues

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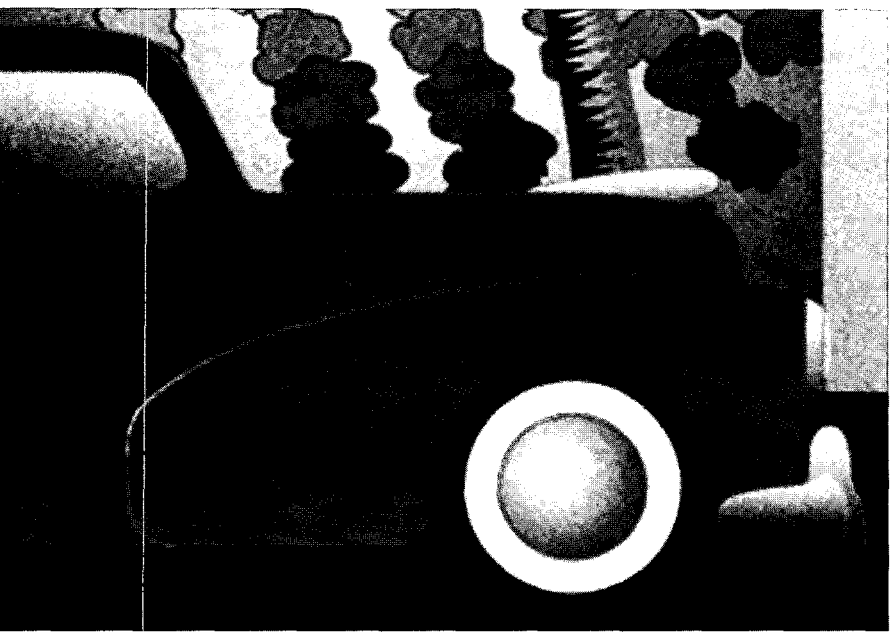
of population, immigration, economic change and political attitudes as they relate to the California dream.

The dream was born in 1848, when California exploded into national consciousness with the discovery of gold, the enduring international symbol of wealth and independence. A poor man's gold rush ensued, bringing risk-takers to



California from every corner of the globe. As Carey McWilliams observed, the discovery of gold coincided with a revolution in transportation and communication that made mass migration possible, "catapulted California into the national limelight ... increased its population 2500 percent in four years" and gave it statehood within two years.

The state has been on the cutting edge of change ever since. Elsewhere in America, economic and political development gradually accelerated as energy accumulated. "But in California," wrote McWilliams, "the lights went on all at once, in a blaze, and they have never been dimmed."

From California's adventurous beginnings the state became a magnet for immigrants of energy and talent from every race and ethnic group. Other "gold rushes" followed, attracting new waves of risk-takers: the "green gold" of agriculture, the "black gold" of oil, the dream machine of the movies, and the war machine of defense and aerospace.

Individualism was the social corollary of economic opportunity. Entrepreneurs were valued and honored. Politicians were nourished on the cult of "the man, not the party." William Faulkner had defined the American dream as "a sanctuary on earth for individual man," and the California dream was the American dream writ large and made accessible to everyone. "Mister, this is dreamland," declared a *Life* article in 1943 that described how Southern California was "irresistibly attractive to hordes of people."

The entire population of the state was then seven million people, and even the most visionary Californians could not foresee the full dimensions of the boom to come. When social historian McWilliams in 1949 wrote "California: the Great Exception," from which the comments attributed to him in this article are taken, he anticipated an "eventual" population of 20 million.

The eventuality arrived by 1970 without dimming California optimism. When newly re-elected Governor Ronald Reagan delivered his State of the State message in 1970, an address reprinted in the first issue of *California Journal*, he talked almost routinely about preserving "the magic of California."

But a quarter century later, the magic seems to have disappeared, without anyone knowing quite where it went or when it vanished. Some believe that the magic is a casualty of overcrowding. California extends 800 miles from corner to corner, and its size enabled it to absorb early waves of immigration with relative ease. But the population pessimists contend that the state will soon exceed its carrying capacity, or, at a minimum, that the easy-going California lifestyle will be damaged beyond recognition.

Finding living space for new residents has been a California preoccupation since the early days of the century. The historic response of urban planners to population pressure was to spread out, providing cheap homes for newcomers at the cost of farmland and desert. Los Angeles became "40 suburbs in search of a city" and was emulated in the suburban sprawl of the Inland Empire and the Santa Clara Valley.

The suburbanizing process encouraged an automobile culture that was simultaneously egalitarian and destructive. The sprawling city-suburbs provided inexpensive and often comfortable housing for millions of working-class and middle-class Californians whose home equities became passports to prosperity. But the atomized communities in which they lived were too often unsatisfactory pseudo-cities inhabited by weary commuters who left before dawn to reach their work places and arrived home after dark on congested freeways that clogged the skies with smog.

In today's California, that commute is actually changing for the better. Business decentralization and telecommunication have brought work places nearer, reduced driving distances, and encouraged a new sense of community. Meanwhile, after succeeding in the San Francisco Bay Area, rapid transit finally has caught on in Southern California, where bus and light rail use is expanding faster than automobile traffic. *Time's* report on the endangered dream declared that "mad, fit joggers must run at night if they hope to breathe freely," but Southern California smog levels are lower than in the '70s, when the dream was flourishing, and they are likely to decline even more with the recent introduction of reformulated gasoline.

Weighing more heavily on the dream than population pressure has been the bitter dispute over population composition, much of it framed as a debate about illegal immigration. An analysis of driver's license records in 1992 showed a record exodus of 580,000 persons from California and prompted *The Sacramento Bee* to suggest renaming the state song, "California, There They Go."

The exodus has been primarily of white, middle-class and older Californians. High birth rates, particularly among young immigrants, have pushed California's population

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above 32 million and increased tax burdens to pay for the schools and social services.

It is not a new problem. *Newsweek* magazine, in a 1948 article called "Crowded California," said that "climate-minded, population-conscious, real-estate mad California has burst its breeches" and "is suffering from the worst case of economic growing pains in American history..."

These growing pains did not trouble three-term Republican Governor Earl Warren, who was quoted by the magazine as saying that California was getting "the greatest population bargain in history." When it was pointed out that most newcomers were young families with debts, Warren said, "I would rather have the production of the best years of the young people now migrating to our state than the dollars the retired people earned elsewhere."

Now, however, young foreign-born immigrants are becoming part of the economy without becoming part of the electorate. Latinos are 26 percent of California's population and 14 percent of registered voters but, according to *Los Angeles Times* exit polls, were only 8 percent of those who cast ballots in last November's election. This minimal participation assured passage of Proposition 187 and abetted scapegoating of illegal immigrants before and after the campaign.

Studies by the Urban Institute, RAND and Los Angeles County impeach the widely held notion that illegal immigrants cost more than they contribute. But the economic contributions (largely Social Security taxes that are collected and never repaid as benefits) are distributed nationally while costs of social services are disproportionately shouldered by border states and counties.

A historic dark side of the California dream has been the scapegoating of minorities during economic crises. When Chinese imported to work on the transcontinental railroad competed for jobs during a recession in the 1870s, labor agitators raised the cry, "The Chinese must go." Chinese were denounced at rallies and lynched by mobs. In successive decades this agitation was extended to imported Japanese, Filipino and Korean workers and to Mexicans brought in as farm workers. The latter were imported during the labor shortages of the two world wars but rounded up and dumped at the Mexican border during the Depression.

The reputations of two great California leaders — Progressive Hiram Johnson and Warren — were blemished by racial demagoguery. As governor in 1913, Johnson signed the Anti-Alien Land Act, which prohibited Japanese ownership or tenancy of agricultural land. As state attorney general in 1942, Warren participated in efforts to intern Japanese-Americans during World War II, an action retrospectively recognized as disgraceful and unjustified.

Governor Pete Wilson's popular campaign against illegal, mostly Latino, immigrants is reminiscent of these sad episodes, which also were immensely popular at the time. And like anti-Chinese agitation, the Anti-Alien Land Act and the Depression exportation of Mexicans, the present demonizing of illegal immigrants is a byproduct of economic frustration.

The collapse of the Cold War triggered aerospace layoffs, punctured the overblown California real estate boom, sent the state into its worst economic slump since the Depression and arguably did more to diminish the California dream than any other single event. Aerospace workers were the elite troops of a work force made necessary by hot and cold wars. From the military buildup before World War II until the demise of the Soviet Union a half century later, the defense industry was an economic cornucopia for California, providing so many jobs that a myth arose that the state was recession-proof. "The California economy was on steroids," said Starr.

Then the aerospace collapse rippled through the California economy, accounting for one-fourth of the 800,000 jobs lost in the state during a three-year period that began soon after Wilson took office. But the structural economic changes caused by the aerospace collapse were even more significant than the job losses.

The structural change can be illustrated by a comparison of aerospace to the apparel industry, the state's fastest-growing manufacturing sector during the economic downturn. In 1993 the median aerospace wage rate was $45,000 a year compared to $34,000 for all California manufacturing jobs. But the median wage in apparel, with a heavily Latino and Asian work force, was only $17,000 a year. While more than two and one-half garment jobs were needed to equal the purchasing power of a single lost aerospace job, aerospace declined at about the same rate that apparel manufacturing was growing.

Reporting on the California economy for *The Washington Post* in 1993, I interviewed Southern California aerospace workers while my colleague Jessica Crosby talked to Spanish-speaking garment workers in the Los Angeles apparel district. Many of the aerospace workers were disillusioned by crime, congestion and lack of economic opportunity. They talked of retiring, retraining for

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other work or leaving California. The garment workers, while working for low wages under poor conditions, were imbued with the ambitions of immigrants: education for their children, a home or a car, a chance to make something of themselves.

"I want everything," said Hugh Gonzalez, 22, who had come to Los Angeles from Guadalarjara. He cut out vest patterns on a hand-held machine by day, attended night school to improve his rudimentary English and said he wanted to become a veterinarian.

Reading such interviews, I realized that the garment workers were as captivated by the California dream as any 19th Century gold-seekers. Soon afterward I discussed this with Assemblyman John Vasconcellos (D-San Jose), who said: "A new society is emerging in California, but its shape isn't clear. We're in a chasm between two shores. We can't go back to the shore we've left, and the other is too far away for us to see it clearly."

While 1994 was the year of Proposition 187, it was also the year when the Greater San Diego Chamber of Commerce (and the *San Diego Union*) opposed the measure in part because of its potential damage to U.S.-Mexican relations. It was the year when the North American Free Trade Agreement proved its worth and when the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade was approved by Congress. It was a year of vast expansion of trade with nations of the Pacific Rim, California's natural partners as the tide of the commerce continues westward.

The private sector clearly must provide leadership if California is to navigate the shoals of cultural change and reach the other shore, for the public has lost confidence in the government solutions that were widely accepted a quarter century ago.

When *California Journal* for its 20th anniversary issue asked prominent Californians to look ahead at the next two decades, Reagan talked about increased telecommuting, work decentralization and "privitization of many functions of government." Jerry Brown said the Russian concept of *perestroika* would become a metaphor for worldwide restructuring.

Their comments were prescient, perhaps because both Reagan and Brown had advanced variants of these ideas during their governorships. Under Reagan, the growth of the state work force slowed for the first time since World War II. Brown advocated an "era of limits" that voters enforced in 1978 with Proposition 13, the initiative that ignited the nationwide anti-tax revolt and still restricts public expenditures in California.

Diminished government and the anti-politics revolution is a worldwide phenomenon. The seminal event was the collapse of the Soviet Union, which reduced the perceived need for a powerful, intrusive and military-oriented U.S. government and arguably had as much impact on national public attitudes as the aerospace collapse had on the California economy.

According to Department of Finance projections, California's population will surpass 40 million by 2006, reach 50 million by 2022 and 60 million by 2036. Latinos will become the largest ethnic group in the state by 2020. By 2002, the state will have no racial or ethnic majority.

"Look at it another way," said Vasconcellos. "By the year 2010, three-fourths of the people on retirement will be Anglo whites and two-thirds of the work force supporting our retirement will be people of color."

Can California deal with such changes? Versions of this question have been put to Californians ever since the gold mines gave out, and the answers have always been affirmative.

The best answers today come not from think tanks but from the sweat of people such as Alicia Aguilar, an immigrant from Toluca, Mexico, who works 11 hours a day making blouses at piece-work rates in a Los Angeles garment factory that is literally a sweatshop because of the lack of air conditioning. Aguilar's three children are learning English, however, and they will be part of the new California.

Answers also are coming at the other end of the economic spectrum by the growing high-tech health care industry, which in California today accounts for nearly 150,000 jobs. "The state has a toehold in the industries of the future," said Kirk West, president of the California Chamber of Commerce.

James K. Didion, chief executive officer of CB Commercial Real Estate Group of Los Angeles and a lifelong Californian, believes that the state's natural advantages and the "renewal of energy" provided by legal immigration will lead to a California revival.

"I look back with great nostalgia to the way California used to be," said Didion. "But with our diverse population and the kind of new businesses that are being generated, we could become the first universal nation. California's future could be even brighter than its past."

That is what Reagan believed a quarter century ago. Delivering his State of the State message in 1970, Reagan said: "We seek ways to accommodate those who want to share in the magic of California without allowing that magic to be swept away by a wave of people and pollution."

The accommodation is still being sought despite more pollution and many more people. The magic of California is being rediscovered. The dream abides.

Lou Cannon is a veteran political reporter and the author of numerous books, including "President Reagan, the Role of a Lifetime." He currently is writing a book on the aftermath of the Los Angeles riots and the Rodney King trial and is on leave from The Washington Post.

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The Agency for Health Care Policy and Research (AHCPR) of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, in a milestone study involving a multidisciplinary panel of health care experts, concluded that spinal manipulation is the safest, drugless initial form of treatment for acute low back problems in adults. The study also recommended that—for most cases—conservative treatment such as manipulation should be pursued before surgical interventions are considered.

A recent Harris Poll survey found that patients with back problems were more satisfied with chiropractic treatment than other types of care, and 70 percent of Americans surveyed believe that chiropractic should be included as a basic benefit in their health plans.

In another study, the prestigious RAND Corporation concluded that spinal manipulation was an appropriate treatment for acute low back pain, and reported from its analysis that 94 percent of all manipulations are performed by Doctors of Chiropractic.

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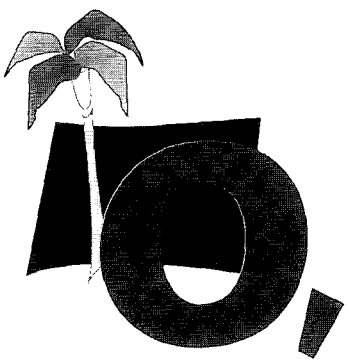
by Richard Reeves



what plagues the Lord has visited upon us! The sun and the sea brought outsiders from the East and Europe with their money and talent and ambition — and their children who had to be educated in our schools. War brought the military and their billions upon billions of dollars — and then they said they did not need all the bombs and planes and rockets anymore. The water from other parts made the desert bloom — and we needed those damn Mexicans to pick all that green gold.

O California! Such suffering when surely the world owes us a living.

I left California after Proposition 13 but came back in time for Proposition 187. So I feel qualified to comment on the horrors that made us rich as our little properties became worth hundreds of thousands, even millions of dollars without us doing a lick of work. Those people came from the South to blow the leaves away from our lawns before the sprinklers could wet them and make them soggy, like the leaves in other places. Then those Japanese came, trying to push us around by investing billions of dollars in California companies and real estate — $7.4 billion in 1990 alone and wasn't that terrible?

Then there was Washington. The federal government just would not get off our backs, sending all those defense contracts and, usually, sending $1.25 for every $1.00 collected in taxes out here. And, usually, we complained that there should have been more. The voice of the people in the Golden State is, more often than not, wail or whine.

It was heard in the land after last year's Northridge earthquake. The epicenter legislator was Assemblywoman Paula Boland (R-Granada Hills), whose home was so damaged that she had to move into her car until the building could be shored up. Surveying the wreckage with Governor Pete Wilson, she declared that government had to do something about this. The federal government, she meant. What about the state? "No," she said. "Californians are already paying too much in taxes. ...The federal government owes us because of the all the defense cutbacks."

> The voice of the people in the Golden State is, more often than not, wail or whine.

There it is. From the beginning of World War II until the end of the Cold War, the people of the rest of the United States — called taxpayers — poured billions into the defense and aerospace industries. They subsidized us not because of the native virtues of Californians; they did it because the weather is so good in Southern California that planes can fly in the sun almost every day of the year and because mountains of material can be stored outdoors all year, something not possible in, say, Minnesota, and because California is so vast and so much of it is desert that scientists, technicians and soldiers could make a lot of noise out there without disturbing too many people. Boom!

Boy, was California lucky! "Southern California is, in many respects, a creation of the Pentagon," says Allen J. Scott, the director of UCLA's Center for Regional Policy Studies. There was a time when 43 percent of the manufacturing jobs in Los Angeles and Orange counties

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were serving one customer, the United States government. In San Diego County, Wilson's home, it was 75 percent. But don't bother Ms. Boland or the governor with that kind of talk; all they want to hear and say is that since the fall of the Berlin Wall, Washington has taken 60,000 aerospace jobs away from California.

Granted, politicians do not speak for all of us. And the quality of California pols has decreased noticeably over recent years. Here is an exchange between Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr. and Los Angeles County Supervisor Gloria Molina, both Democrats, during last year's budget negotiations. Said he: "You scalawags ... Greedy! ... Los Angeles would squeal no matter how much you gave them." Said she: "We should look at all ways possible to stick it to Sacramento."

It was easy to think nothing could go wrong here.

But the fault is not in our politicians but in ourselves. California is the people you see on television after every natural disaster. My favorites are movie producers in Malibu lamenting the loss of their weekend places, at sea now or covered with the mud of the sliding Santa Monica Mountains. It's not their fault that they built on a fault or shifting sands. Where's the money to rebuild? What's wrong with those people in Washington and Sacramento? They should be here to fix this up and, by the way, when is the National Guard going to be mobilized to find my cat, Buffy?

Having said that, I love the place. In 1966, when I first stepped off a plane at LAX and saw palm trees and heard their clack-clack sound in the wind — I'd never actually believed they were real — I had the same reaction as

Henry James had in 1905: "The charming sweetness of and comfort of this spot have completely bowled me over — such a delicious difference to the rest of the United States do I find it."

And it got better. In the early 1970s, the British magazine *The Economist* sent a team of writers west to write a long survey of California life, serious people who studied the numbers and the productivity of the place and concluded it had become one of the great economies and production machines in world history. But with a difference. Parodying Lincoln Steffens' praise of the Soviet Union — "I have seen the future and it works!" —

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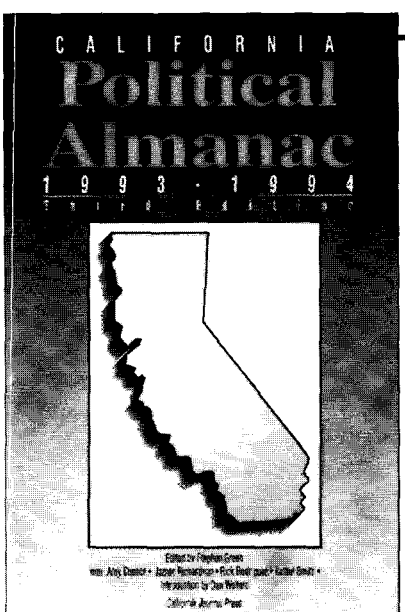

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this crew began their California survey by saying, "We have seen the future and it plays!"

Those were the laid-back days. I lived here then, in Pacific Pali sades, where Ronald Reagan lived. You could drive from the center of town to the beach in a minute. It was right down the hill on Temescal Canyon Road, a wide new street built through the ranch that Debbie Reynolds and Eddie Fisher owned when they were married. They put Pacific Palisades High School in there, too, overlooking the Pacific, and when kids graduated, most of them went on to the University of California, one of the best universities in the world — free.

There were old jobs and new companies, and everyone seemed to be getting richer as the land and the houses on it became more and more valuable day by day. Property value and incomes were growing so fast that the state government was getting so much money it did not know what to do with it after the new schools were built and the roads were as smooth as could be. Life was perfect in the free sunshine. Or so it appeared. And, in California, appearance is everything.

It was easy to think nothing could go wrong here. And if bad things do happen, it must the fault of outsiders or, worse, foreigners. There is something about the excess of pleasure in sweet California air that drives Californians to political excess. Burn out the Chinese now that the railroad's built. Stop the Okies at the border. Lock up the Japs and divide up their land. Round up the Mexicans and send them back where they came from.

Then a funny thing happened on the way to the 1980s. Rising real estate prices, 50 percent and more a year from 1975 to 1978, were making homeowners rich — on paper. But their property taxes were inflating at the same rate — and that was in cash. Politicians let the money pile up in the capital, Sacramento, a golden pile higher than $5 billion — while people with relatively fixed incomes worried about losing their homes because they could not pay the exploding taxes. A lot of Californians were mad as hell and they got behind an old Howard Jarvis, who invented Proposition 13. A tax revolt. It was approved by 65 percent of state voters on June 6, 1978, and became Article XIIIA of the state constitution, effectively capping the property taxes of the people who were already here and making it damned near impossible to raise other taxes.

Proposition 13 worked — and then some. The oldtimers got to keep their homes and pay a fraction of the taxes newcomers pay. In parts of the state, for identical homes on the same block, new homeowners pay 20 times the taxes paid by old timers — and some projections show that ratio reaching 70-to-1 after the year 2000.

Two examples: In Santa Monica, a new buyer can pay $5000 a year in taxes while the owner of an identical house next-door pays $270 — because one house recently sold and the other has had the same owner since 1975. The little houses at 923 and 927 Nowita Street near the beach in Venice are virtually identical but the taxes on 923

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When he was very young, Tom Ray learned to appreciate how many different plants and animals live in the forest. Now he's a natural at his job. As Resource Manager for Georgia-Pacific, he makes sure everyone makes the most of the company's resources.

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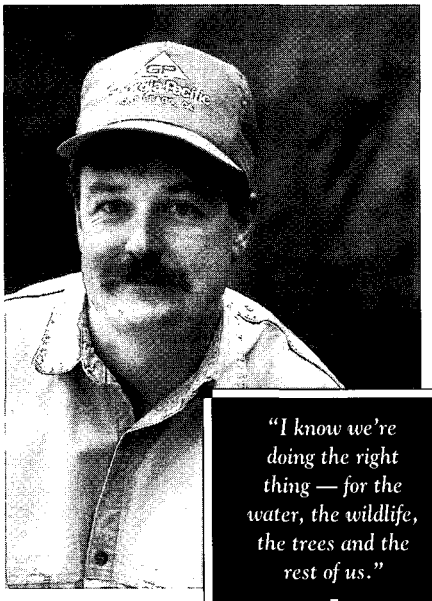
Tom takes pride in his work with Georgia-Pacific. It's a job that lets him apply principles he learned as a kid, and will benefit future generations of plants, animals and people.



"I know we're doing the right thing — for the water, the wildlife, the trees and the rest of us."

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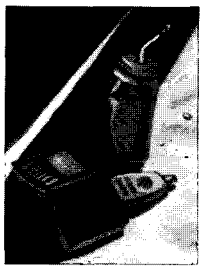


are $3413 compared with $291 for 927 — because 923 sold last year for $335,000 and the owner of 923 has stayed put since 1959.

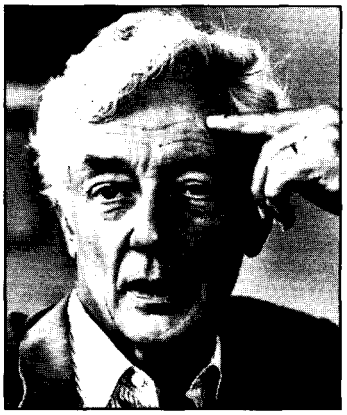
"Stays put" is in the language of Article XIIIA. It's what old people do in what used to be the land of the young and the mobile. Older Californians are staying put and new laws make it possible for them to pass on their Proposition 13 tax breaks to their children. It's the modern equivalent of a hereditary royal grant. If that seems unfair or foolish — in the same way New York City's rent-control laws raised other housing prices and forced young families out of the city — the director of the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association, a fellow named Joel Fox, told me that whatever pain there is only lasts for awhile. "You feel better in a few years," he said, "because the next buyer on the block will pay even more than you did."

Nice. The Seventy-eighters, their children and often their grandchildren educated in good schools backed by the wealth of California property, voted to trade lower property taxes for themselves in exchange for diminished education spending for other people's children — many of them, it happens, black and Hispanic kids. Now we have Proposition 187, approved overwhelmingly last year (and providing that Joel Fox was probably right) to allow us to throw a lot of Hispanic kids out altogether.

So, where are we going? South, as in Mississippi. Before Proposition 13, California routinely ranked in the top five of kindergarten-through-12th grade (K-12) educational spending — and achievement — but since then has steadily dropped into the bottom 10 of the 50 states. Classroom size is now the largest in the country and per-capita spending for the state's five million public school students last year was roughly $4600, more than $1000 less than the national average and half the spending in states like New York and New Jersey. The schools passed another milestone in decline this year when U.S. Department of Education reading test scores showed California fourth-graders tied for last-in-the-nation, with Mississippi, once seen as the heart of American darkness.

California, alas, blinded by gold and sun, has chosen the old over the young. The old chose themselves. We chose ourselves over our children and someday they will hate us for it.

Richard Reeves is an author and syndicated columnist based in Los Angeles. His seven books include the bestselling Convention *and* American Journey: Traveling with Tocqueville in Search of Democracy in America. *His writing appears regularly in* The New Yorker *and* The New York Times Magazine.



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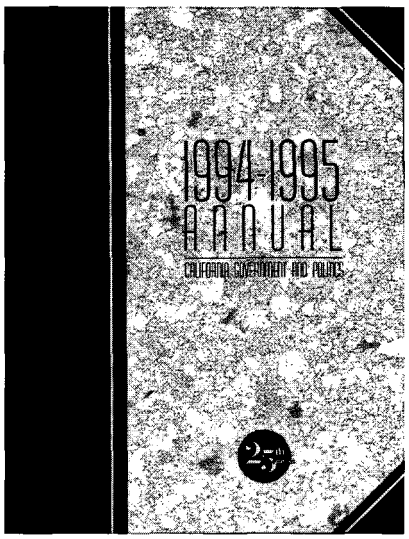

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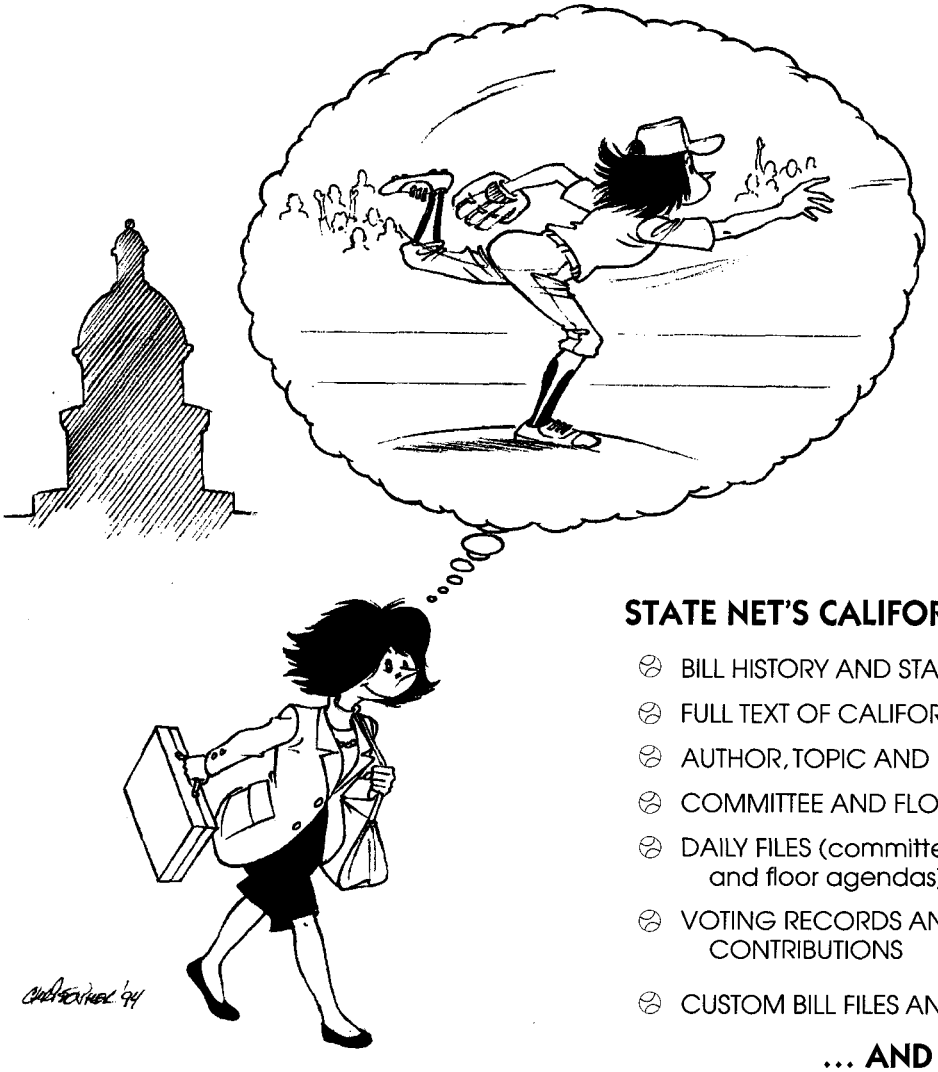

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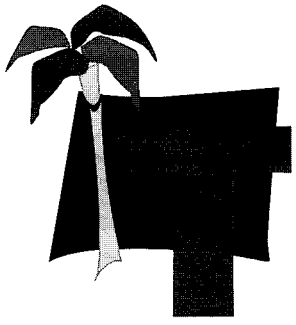
The Future of



The future of California is golden.

Contrary to the cynics in the media and in academe and in politics, the prospects for living a good full life are brighter than ever in California — brighter on a large scale than any other spot on the globe.

But how can this be? Don't we have a crushing state budget deficit? Isn't a spider web of regulation driving business from the state? Haven't the precipitous cutbacks in defense spending decimated Southern California? Isn't crime rampant and growing worse? Isn't our educational system in decline? Aren't our borders overrun with millions of illegal aliens? Aren't we beset with floods and mudslides, drought, fire and earthquakes?

The answers aren't simple. Yes, California in recent years has had more than its fair share of problems. But if you look at them, one by one, it becomes increasingly clear that some of them have been solved, that for many of them the worst is over.

When those facts are combined with the natural assets that bless California it is very difficult to be pessimistic about California's future.

Let's examine some of the major concerns that weigh on the minds of Californians. Perhaps the most worrisome is the economic outlook. In recent years the California economy has been hammered. State spending raced out of control in the late 1980s and early 1990s, government regulation of business expanded, state taxes were raised and then federal taxes were raised, first by President George Bush and then by President Bill Clinton. One of the by products of winning the Cold War with imperial communism in the 1980s was a major reduction in defense spending, which hit California disproportionately. But much of that is over.

The latest budget numbers now indicate that the state of California will run a surplus of close to $1 billion for the 1994 fiscal year. For the first time in years, thanks largely to tough spending controls and cuts implemented by Governor Pete Wilson, and increased revenues from a fledgling economic recovery, California's budget will be more than balanced.

There are other good economic numbers coming up. Recently it was discovered that more than 200,000 new jobs than we had realized were created in California. Unemployment has been steadily falling.

When those facts are combined with the natural assets that bless California, it is very difficult to be pessimistic about California's future.

As a result, all the economic forecasters, both private and public, have been revising their economic forecasts upward. Given current policies, these forecasts show increasingly large state surpluses over the next four or five years. California will soon have the luxury of deciding what to do with this growing amount of excess revenue. If that revenue is returned, it could mean a substantial cut in tax rates for all working Californians. If spent, it could mean a increase in spending for welfare, health care and education.

Chances are we are in for a major tax cut instead of increased state spending on social welfare. For the past 23 years, liberal Democrats, in control of the state Assembly, have heavily influenced the tax and spending policy of California. That's over, at least for the next two years and perhaps much longer. A new governing philosophy, which values the benefits of economic growth and is more skeptical of the effectiveness of government bureaucracies, will rule in both the governor's office and in the Assembly.

That means the prospects are good for continued tough spending control, lower tax rates, and serious deregulation efforts. And that will mean hundreds of thousands of new jobs and higher incomes, after taxes, for working Californians.

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California

By Martin Anderson

Illustration by Christopher, Journal cover 3/85

A new surge in prosperity for California has already begun and is poised to accelerate. Adding to our confidence in an accelerating economic recovery in California is what happened on the national political scene November 8, 1994. For the first time in the lives of most of us, Republicans have real power in Washington. As Republican presidents since Eisenhower have complained, the president proposes and Congress disposes. Only Congress has the power of the purse. Republicans will no longer complain of Congress spending wildly. Now they control the Congress and, at least for a year or two, we shall see strong spending restraint and an aversion to any tax increases. Moreover, we should also see the repeal of many of the maddening and expensive mandates that the federal government has foisted upon the states. This will have particular relevance in California where much of the current hostility and controversy surrounding immigration and welfare issues can be traced directly to an arrogant Congress, long out of touch with the concerns of typical Americans.

As for crime, illegal immigration and education, these are still serious problems. In fact, crime and education have always been serious problems and probably always will be, but the policy hands being dealt to deal with these problems are steadily improving. Serious measures have been passed to handle the criminals who are most violent and who commit crimes most frequently. The rising public anger against the criminal element in California is beginning to have an impact, an impact that only bodes well for the future quality of life here.

Despite the well-deserved criticism of its educational system, especially higher education, California still ranks high when compared with other states and other countries. The problem is not money. We spend large and ever-increasing amounts of money on public education. The problem is how

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and where that money is spent by government. We have just begun a spirited debate on the degree to which swollen government bureaucracies in Washington and Sacramento should direct the teaching policies of local communities. An education voucher system, wherein families would in effect be given scholarships funds to spend at the school of their choice, will likely become a reality, on a modest scale, within a few years.

Finally, the corrosive problem of illegal immigration has begun to melt away. The passage of Proposition 187 confirmed by a thumping vote that Californians do not accept the idea of being forced to pay for the welfare support, health care, and education of foreigners who have entered this country illegally.

This simple but important principle will soon be embodied in federal law, paving the way to truly effective immigration reform.

California, like virtually every other state in the United States, has a long and rich tradition of immigration. In fact, one could easily argue that California to this day has been built by immigrants. The recent controversy surrounding Proposition 187 did not arise from any widespread hostility toward immigrants, it had little if anything to do with race or country of origin, but it had a lot to do with breaking the law and then rewarding those who break the law.

The way is now open to a simple and ethical way to resolve the powerful attractions that life in America, and especially in California, has for many foreigners. Much of the perceived problem of "immigration" depends on how you ask the question. If, in a national poll, you ask the American people what they think of illegal aliens, most will respond they do not like them. After all, those in question are being called both illegal and alien. But if you ask the same question in a different way, you will get a different answer. If the question asked said, "What do you think of a Mexican citizen who is willing to travel hundreds of miles to come to the U.S., who works hard, pays taxes, commits no crimes, takes no welfare, and sends most of his or her take home pay back to their family and then, after a while, returns home?" Most Americans would respond positively and warmly.

What we need to do is dramatically expand our guest-worker programs, under which foreign nationals who wish to work in the United States can do so lawfully, with dignity, with no threat of being hunted down and deported. Once upon a time we had such a program — and we had no illegal alien problems. Organized labor will probably resist any such effort, as it always has, but the benefits would be enormous. No longer would employers need to be pseudo policemen under the employer sanction law, a law that is impossible to enforce without embracing repugnant practices — such as a national identification card — characteristic of a totalitarian state. No longer would foreigners working in the United States live in fear of being detected. And the whole U.S. economy, and especially California's, would benefit from their labor, which would help create even more jobs and bigger paychecks.

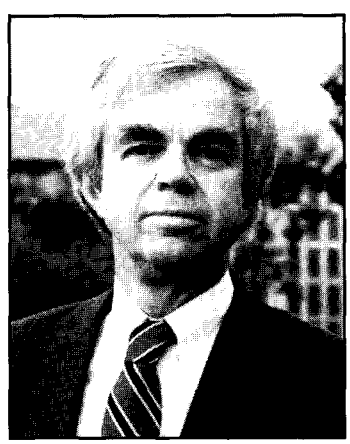
Too often we who live in California forget the reasons why we came here and why we stay here. In some ways California has no peer. If you step back a few hundred miles and take an overall look at the place, there is no more beautiful state or nation on earth. The clear, brilliant blue skies. The mountains, densely green in the summer, and deep with snow in the winter. The vast Pacific Ocean. The desert. The sparkling gem of Lake Tahoe that Mark Twain called the most beautiful place in the world. The vibrant, talented population, many of them the adventurous who chose where they now live. These are natural assets that will not go away. And, as time rolls on, the natural advantages of California will be of increasing importance.

During the past decade we have witnessed two extraordinary phenomena that have been benefited the lives of people all around the world. We have seen the end of any threat of an all-out nuclear war between the United States and the former Soviet Union. We have seen the demise of the evil ideology of communism, a philosophy that killed and hurt more people, impoverished more nations, and ravaged more environments than any idea in history. Now we can predict with confidence that the future of the world — including California — will be a relatively safer one, a world characterized by the continuing spread of capitalism.

We have also seen another phenomenon — the almost unbelievable communication revolution — that will have a disproportionate impact on California. Much of what we do in business, finance, government, the professions and education will not be limited by where we are located. Our work will no longer determine where we must live, and that decision will be influenced more and more by environmental factors — by the number of hours of sun, by temperature ranges, by humidity, by myriad factors of natural beauty. And when that happens, California will move into its realm of natural superiority.

When you don't have to be at Harvard or Dartmouth to pursue a top level academic career, when Stanford and Berkeley are the intellectual equals, why live in Boston or Hanover? When you don't have to live in New York City to be a successful businessman, why not live in Silicon Valley or Tiburon or San Diego? True, if you want to be a senator or a congressman, or even president, you cannot live in California — but coming term limits for politicians will soon help solve that problem.

In sum, California has such powerful natural assets — its land, its air, its waters, and its people — that its future, compared with any other place in the world today, is exceptionally bright. The only major factors that have limited its attraction in the past have been excessive government and natural disasters. Californians are now in the midst of taking serious steps to make their government smaller, leaner, and more compassionate and effective. If we can remove the choking hold of a wasteful, corrupt government, we will be in a much better position to take care of any natural disasters that may come along.



California is not perfect, just better than anywhere else for the foreseeable future. And if you doubt that, just travel, anywhere you want to go, and stay there awhile.

I bet you come back.

Martin Anderson is a senior fellow of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. He was born and raised in Massachusetts and has been moving south and west ever since.

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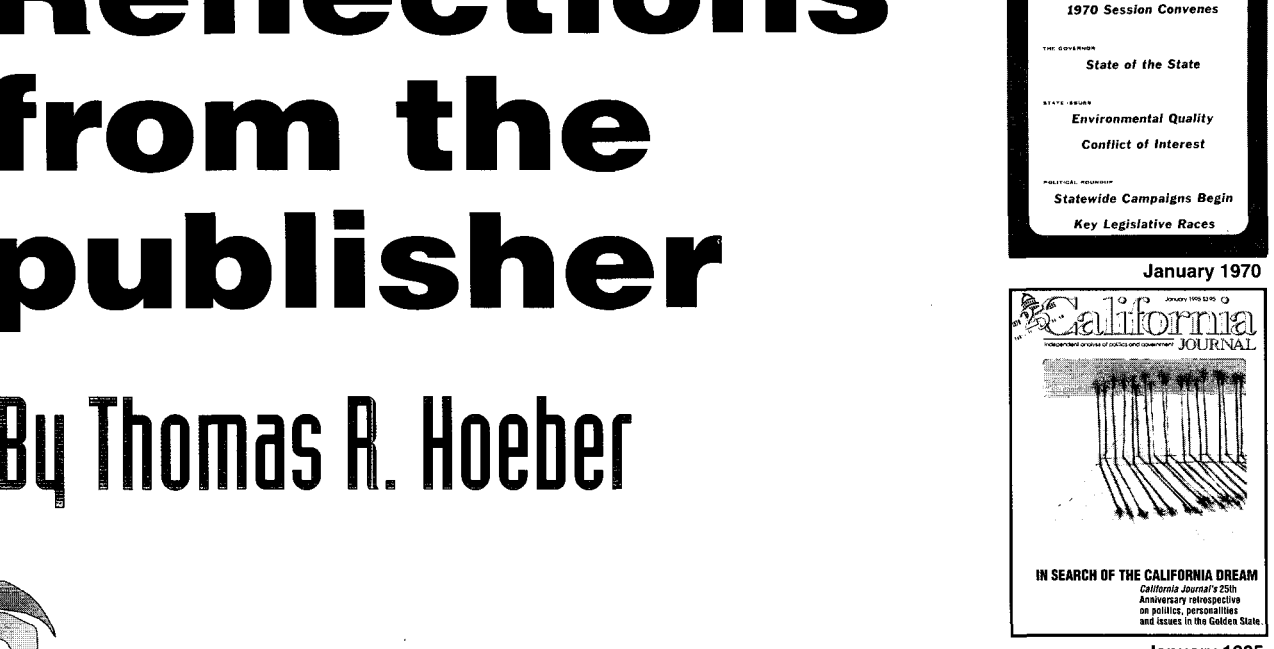
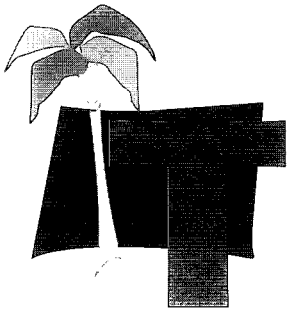
Reflections from the publisher

By Thomas R. Hoeber





Twenty-five years ago, when *California Journal* was founded, a postage stamp cost six cents, the state budget was the size of last year's deficit, and voters seemed to have some degree of confidence in their political leaders and institutions. After all, the Legislature had just been rated the best in the nation.

Since then, some things have gotten even better in California. Representation in the Legislature is more reflective of the diversity of our population as a whole. There are about 50 more miles of coastline accessible to the public. Legislative committee votes are a matter of public record, as hard as it is to remember now that once they were not. And the Political Reform Act allows us to monitor the flow of money in the political process.

But as much as I would like to say otherwise on the occasion of our 25th year of reporting on California government and politics, the truth is that the political process and the institutions engaged in it are much worse than they were in 1970. Our political system is misfiring and in need of a substantial overhaul.

The failure of California's political system is most graphically exemplified by the decline of voter participation. In 1970, 55 percent of the voting age population voted in the general election, not exactly a solid vote of confidence. But in our most recent election, that number declined to less than 40 percent, a 27 percent drop. (Thus, the electorate represents less than half of the population, and a distorted half at that — voters are much older, whiter and more affluent than the population as a whole. Couch voting represents an abandonment of the political process so great as to place in question some of the basic assumptions of American democracy. And couch voting is a vicious circle. To the extent that citizens do not vote, elected leaders are less likely to represent the majority of the population and still more people lose confidence their vote counts. Every public opinion survey shows that voter confidence is in the tank.

Why are people disenchanted with the political system? Here are the most dramatic examples from a long list:

- **Demographics:** As Dan Walters has written in the "California Political Almanac," "California is the planet's most diverse society." For many immigrants and even some long-established ethnic groups, barriers of language and culture hinder participation in the political process. And with "minorities" soon to be the majority in the state, this non-participation becomes a major issue. Anglos who made up 57 percent of the population in 1990 cast 81 percent of the votes. Less and less is there a sense of "ownership" of the process by a majority of the population.
- **Remoteness from the process:** California is geographically big. When I first moved to California in 1963 and lived in Los Angeles, I had the impression from my neighbors that Sacramento was somewhere near Canada and just about as relevant to day-to-day concerns. Sacramento is also *politically* distant. In the first place each state senator represents about 800,000 people, the same number as made up the entire state population at the time the number of senators was fixed at 40 in the 1879 Constitution. Even one Assembly member per 400,000 population means that most citizens have no idea who their representative is. This remoteness severs the connection between the governors and the governed. It also leads to a kind of regal isolation that is magnified many fold in Sacramento when more than 1000 lobbyists pay court. In this environment, it is impossible for any but the most enlightened individual not to lose sight of what he or she is supposed to do in the Capitol. And citizens in the districts feel they don't count.
- **Failure of Leadership:** Managing Editor A.G. Block has written eloquently in the *Journal* (see *CJ*, June 1989) about the failure of leadership in Sacramento. The state's social and economic problems have become much more

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LANDMARKS

25 Years of *California Journal*

Fall 1969. Tom Hoeber, a member of the legislative staff, and Jud Clark, who had just left the staff to form his own consulting business, independently consider launching a magazine on state government and politics. They get together with Vic Fazio, Bill Geyer, Jerry Evans and later Mike Wenstrom (all staffers of different legislative committees and political persuasions), and join in the consulting business and founding the magazine. Between the six founders there was not one course in journalism, not a week of business experience, nor any professional writing experience. As a measure of their innocence they capitalize the venture with a total of $48,000.

February 6, 1970. The first issue of *California Journal* is published. Hoeber is the editor and the other partners are associate editors.

September 1971. The initial capital is gone, and debts are piling up. The Ford Foundation is willing to rescue the floundering venture. A decision is made to convert the *Journal* to non-profit legal status (to match its real financial status). Clark, Geyer and Wenstrom stay with the consulting business; Hoeber and Evans go with the *Journal.* Fazio returned to the legislative staff after the first year. Over the next 10 years, the Ford Foundation is joined by the Michael J. Connell Foundation, the Markle Foundation and the Weingart Foundation as major donors to the *Journal.* Dozens of other foundations and hundreds of individuals donate time and money to help build the *Journal* and its related activities, such as television programs, seminars, book publishing and special studies of media coverage of the election of 1974 and the impact of Proposition 13. Special recognition also goes to the three chairs of the board of directors over the years: Eugene Lee, William Hauck and Rosellen Kershaw and to the many others who served as directors.

July 1973. Ed Salzman of the *Oakland Tribune* becomes the second editor of the *Journal.* Hoeber becomes publisher.

April 1982. The *Journal* runs its first paid advertising.

December 1982. Bob Fairbanks of the *Los Angeles Times* is named editor of *California Journal.*

August 1985. Richard Zeiger of the *Riverside Press-Enterprise* becomes the fourth editor of the *Journal.* By 1995, he is the magazine's longest serving editor.

November 1985. First full-color *Journal* cover.

September 1986. *California Journal* returns to private sector legal status as California Journal, Inc.

September 1990. California Journal, Inc. merges with Information for Public Affairs, Inc. IPA, headed by Jud Clark, is the contemporary evolution of the consulting business which co-owned the *Journal* at its inception. We've come full circle. Three of the six founders are still with the company, Hoeber as publisher, Clark as president and Wenstrom as head of the Denver office. Fazio is minority caucus chair in the U.S. House of Representatives; Evans owns an art gallery at Lake Tahoe, and Geyer has his own lobbying firm in Sacramento.

February 6, 1995. *California Journal* celebrates its 25th Anniversary.

complex in the last 25 years and are much less susceptible to the application of governmental solutions. One reason for this is that the state's economic growth rate has slowed, spinning off less revenue to throw at problems. The enormous growth in the prevalence of drugs has made crime infinitely more difficult to control than it was 25 years ago. And immigration, the leading issue in the 1994 campaign, didn't even register as a blip on the political horizon in 1970, yet it serves as scapegoat for all the other social and economic ills that beset 1995 California.

As the population gets larger and more diverse, it becomes progressively more difficult to forge a consensus on public policy. When problem-solving gets tough, too many legislators settle for temporary expedients — the state budgets in recent years, for example — rather than systematic and substantive resolution of the issues. A frequent consequence of the leadership void is Draconian ballot measures.

- **Capitol Corruption:** Four senators, one Assembly member, several staffers, and a leading lobbyist have gone to jail in recent years for taking or arranging bribes in connection with legislation. And this is just the tip of the iceberg; the practices that got these people convicted were widely used in the Capitol at the time.

Do these convictions mean that the Legislature is more corrupt today than it was in 1970, or even in the heyday of Artie Samish, the legendary lobbyist who posed for a magazine cover with a dummy in his lap named "Mr. Legislature?" I think so. Not that there weren't legislators in 1970 exchanging votes for gifts, but the sheer magnitude of money hunger in the political process today means that everyone is to some extent compromised.

When I came to work in the Legislature in 1965, a legislator typically carried a 3x5 card in his shirt pocket (I say "his" because there was only one woman among the 120 legislators). It contained the schedule for the day. Now there are three cards (in pocket or purse), the other two listing the names and phone numbers of lobbyists and others to be called for campaign contributions. The Legislators don't like this. Neither do the lobbyists. The public should hate it. But it's the reality of modern campaign finance.

Not all legislators, maybe not even a majority, are directly trading votes for campaign contributions. But all legislators are influenced by contributions, especially on those hundreds of measures where there is no public concern and little policy import, such as defining where the foot ends and the leg begins —a line that nobody worries about except podiatrists and other doctors. When over 1000 lobbyists compete for your attention, it's impossible not to notice the ones waving the $1000 bills. At minimum, money buys access. The corruption trials demonstrate it sometimes buys more. Yet even today many legislators don't see what's wrong with accepting large donations from individuals and interest groups within days of voting on issues the lobbyists want passed or defeated. After all, the process is legal if you use the right words in soliciting and accepting contributions. Everyone except the legislators seems to know that legal or not, it's wrong. Public cynicism is fueled by what walks like a bribe and talks like a bribe.

- **Campaign finance:** The reason for the legislators' frenzy to raise money is the need to finance ever more expensive re-election campaigns, including pre-emptive fund raising to discourage would-be opponents, and to be ready to run for another office, a problem exacerbated by term limits. If you have become accustomed to being treated like royalty by

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1000 courtiers; if every collegue addresses you as "honorable;" if every lobbyist and staffer tells you you're doing a great job and that you are a brilliant and witty public servant, then of course you owe it to yourself and the public to seek re-election.

The average cost of seeking an Assembly seat has risen from about $50,000 in 1970 to around $1 million in 1994. This is driven by the geometric rise in the cost of postage and media time, by the availability of funds and by the fees of consultants to help spend it. Major interests are in the same mode as candidates, contributing more and more money just to stay competitive with the opposition. But the quality of campaigning has declined in inverse proportion to the money spent. U.S. Senate candidates Dianne Feinstein and Michael Huffington's multi-million dollar expenditures to attack each other's nannies certainly won the hard-fought contest for the lowest level of discourse in 1994 and set the all-time record for spending. If you wanted to know where the candidates stood on the issues, however, it was nearly impossible to find out. Small wonder that citizens decided not to vote.

25 Year Journal Change Index

	Journal Circulation (December)	1st Class Postage Stamp	State Budget ($ Billions)	Journal Subscription Price	State Population (Millions)	Women in Legislature	Turnout of Voting Age Population (November)
1970	2,041	6¢	$6.3	$15.00	20.0	3	54.5%
1975	9,912	13¢	$10.3	$15.00	21.6	2	46.5%#
1980	18,891	15¢	$21.5	$18.00	23.8	11	57.0%*P*
1985	17,677	22¢	$31.0	$24.95	26.4	15	59.0%*P*#
1990	15,746	25¢	$48.6	$32.00	30.0	19	41.1%
1995	14,665*	32¢	$57.3	$34.95	33.2	27	39.5#

* Dec. 1994 Estimate # Previous November *P* Presidential Election

- **The media:** I hate the term "the media." It's a plural noun that in common usage puts *California Journal* in the same category as the *National Enquirer* and tabloid television (just as my lobbyist and legislator friends must resent my generalizations about their professions). I prefer to distinguish between the entertainment media and the news media, with network television among the latter and local television "news" almost without exception among the former. If it is true that more than 60 percent of all citizens get all or nearly all of their news from television, then they are getting almost no news that helps them understand the substantive differences between candidates at the top of the ballot, let alone in local races. A *Journal* study in 1974 logged only minutes of coverage of the gubernatorial campaign between Labor Day and Election Day on the best station in the state. Coverage has certainly declined since then. And in the absence of coverage, the viewers are left with campaigns that often are worse than uninformative. There is an obligation on the part of this all-powerful medium to assist the political process by providing more information and possibly exercising "truth-in-advertising" oversight of campaign ads.

- **The voters:** Television panders to the lowest common denominator. And often that denominator is very low. As issues become more complex and solutions more difficult, there has emerged a disastrous unreasonableness in the public that manifests itself in impossible contradictions. The most dramatic recent example of this is the approval of what may prove to be the biggest government growth program in history — prisons, under the new "three strikes" law — at the same time that polls show overwhelming opposition to any tax increases. This contradiction stems in large measure from the lack of credibility government has with the public, which believes that we need only cut the "fat" to fund large new expenditures or tax cuts, or both.

I have listed some of the more obvious discontinuities in our political system. There are more, but this is illustrative. No informed observer doubts that the system needs reform. Practically every legislator has authored reform legislation, some cynically knowing that it was going nowhere. Defining the problem is not the problem. Specifying solutions is more difficult but not impossible.

The central problem with our political system in the 1990s is a series of interrelated problems — including campaign finance, political leadership, the voters, the media, and the distance between the elected and the electors — all existing in history's most diverse and complicated society. We can't improve public understanding of the process if we can't get voters to overcome their cynicism. Cynicism is justified as long as money dominates the legislative process. We can't limit the flood of money if we can't to reduce the cost of campaigning. We can't reduce the costs of campaigns without some change in the way the media convey information to voters.

Meaningful reform of our political system lies not in focusing on these problems one at a time, but rather in undertaking the enormous task of addressing many of them at the same time. Comprehensive reform can transform the system and achieve greater effectiveness — and a buy-in by all the stakeholders — if consensus is reached on solutions to many of the system's discontinuities at once.

There are models for this comprehensive approach. The Constitutional Revision Commission of the 1960s and '70s is one. Another was a consensus-building project two years ago sponsored by CSU - Sacramento's Center for California Studies on the subject of local government reorganization.

Now is the time for another consensus-building project, this one creating a new political process restore citizen confidence. Only major reform will assure that there is a political process for 25 years from now.

Tom Hoeber is publisher of California Journal *and co-founder of the magazine.*

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Re-assembling, re-earning the

ow is the time to re-assemble, renew, and re-earn California. For others, in the past, California might have glistened on the shores of the Pacific as an assured utopia: a place of unrivaled beauty and economic opportunity where daily life could be better, much better, for ordinary Americans. Coming of age in California in the 1950-1990 era, or making the deliberate choice to become a Californian, Americans and immigrants alike pursued their lives in the belief that California was part, a big part, of the solution.

It was easy then to become or to remain a Californian; indeed, California embodied what the 18th Century Anglo-Irish parliamentarian and philosopher Edmund Burke called "the unbought grace of life:" the gifts of beauty and abundance, that is, which seemed to come at no cost. There were jobs aplenty, so many of them in defense-related industries, which since 1941 had been providing a continuing steroid boost to the California economy. There were schools aplenty. Innumerable K-12 plants had sprung up since the school-building boom initiated by Governor Earl Warren in 1948. The Masterplan for Higher Education pushed through by Governor Pat Brown in 1960 offered a menu of choices: academic and/or vocational training in junior colleges, a state college system exfoliating campuses across the commonwealth, a University of California system pushing towards nine campuses throughout the state. Developers were bringing on-line millions of residential units, the vast majority of them within the economic reach of working Californians. A newly completed freeway system whizzed Californians to and from work with little delay, and somewhere in the subliminal distance the Beach Boys were always singing of a land of youth and leisure on the shores of the sundown sea.

> California embodied what the 18th Century Anglo-Irish parliamentarian and philosopher Edmund Burke called "the unbought grace of life..."

Not for us Californians, however, are these certainties. For our time, the minimalist mid-1990s, so fraught with peril (and an odd defiant kind of hope), emerges the necessity of deliberate choice, of making California happen once again, as a matter of vision and will. Like the pioneers of the mid-19th Century, like the Californians of the Depression, ours is the challenge of re-assembling, renewing, and re-earning the commonwealth.

California must be re-assembled in the marketplace. By the late 1930s, an indigenous and totally suitable economy was in operation. It blended agriculture (its lead element), tourism and service industries, entertainment, technology as represented by aviation, financial services as represented by the great California-based banking and insurance firms, and the manufacturing and/or assembly of ships, automobiles, tires, appliances and household furnishings. By the 1940s, the California apparel industry was second only to New York. Defense, especially the United States Navy, had been part of the economy of California since the 1850s, but with the

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renewing and California dream

By Kevin Starr

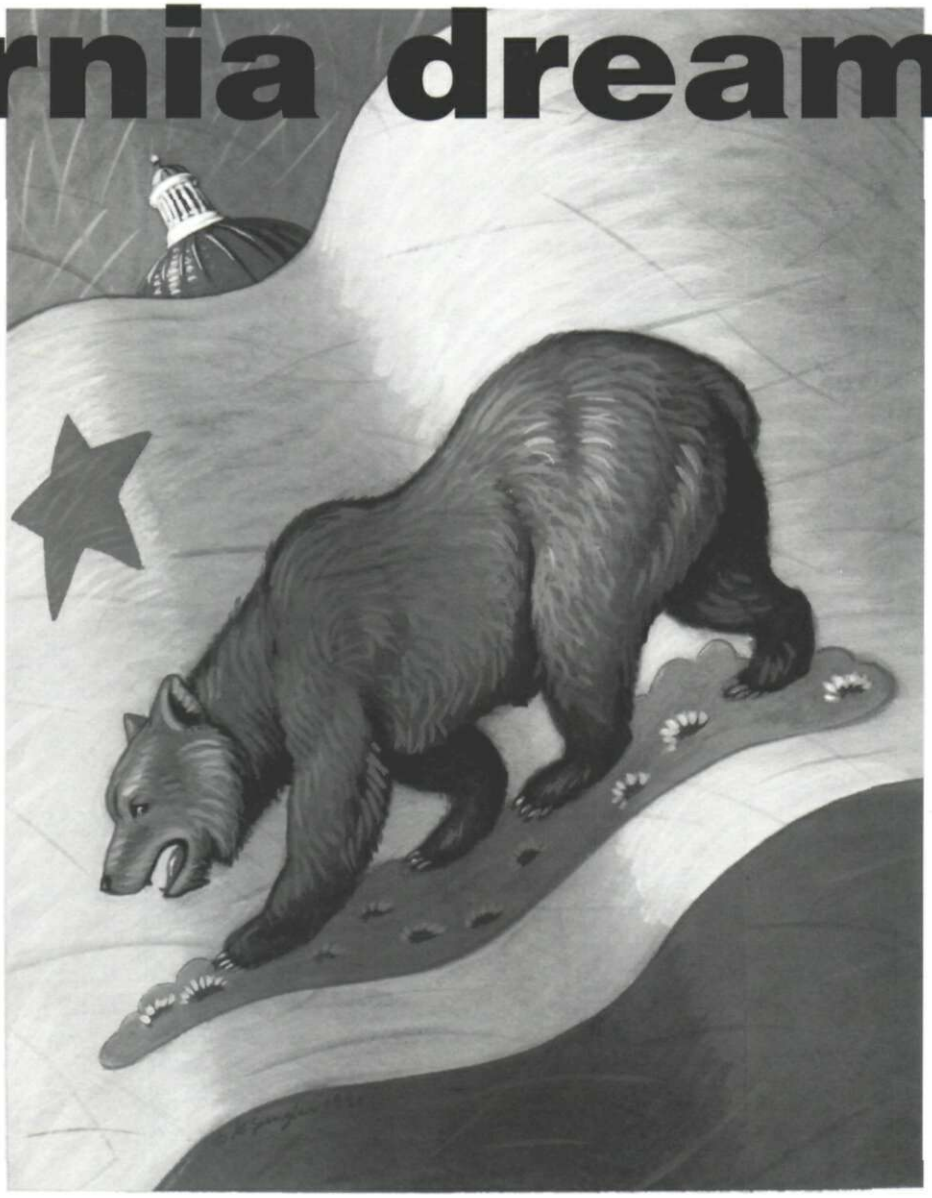

Illustration by Kenneth Spengler, Journal *cover 8/91*

outbreak of World War II, defense dollars surged like steroids through the bloodstream of the state, and an entire economy, departing from the integrated composite of 1939, built itself on the premise that the Cold War would last, comfortably, into the 21st Century.

Now is the time, amidst the pain of plant closures and layoffs, to re-invent the economy of California according to the diverse and integrated menu discarded after 1941. Like a DNA code that refuses to be broken, the economic mix achieved by the late 1930s is slowly re-asserting itself. The distinctive blend of nature and high tech, for example, so evident in the mining era prior to 1879 (when mining yielded to agriculture as the leading element in the economy), now re-asserts itself in the continuing vitality of California agriculture and food-processing conjoined with the technological and economic miracles of Silicon Valley and San Diego. True, defense-related industries are collapsing, and this represents a tragedy for those who lose their employment; but true also is the persistent vitality of those other elements in the pre-war economy. Motion pictures, television, and the music industry are more vital than ever. Tourism abides, despite misbehavior on the streets; and banking and financial service now function in an emerging matrix of European and Asian investment.

Now is the time to re-assemble, renew and re-earn California on the streets of our cities and towns: which translates to that war on crime, in both its causes and effects, which constitutes the great crusade of our era. In this regard, however, we must struggle with little guidance from the past; for whatever outbreaks of crime Californians experienced in the past — the disturbances leading to the San Francisco Vigilance Committees of 1851 and 1856, the San Francisco sand-lot riots of the 1870s, the lynchings of Chinese in Los Angeles in that same decade, the anti-Mexican servicemen riots in Los Angeles in 1943 — were localized and intermittent in comparison to the constant bloodshed on contemporary streets.

Now is the time to restore order in the classroom: to emphasize teaching once again over bureaucracy and administration, to restore the hope and promise of the 1960 Master Plan, with its assurance that every young person in the state might find his or her path through vocational training keyed to jobs that really exist or through higher education keyed to the professions so necessary in an expanding economy.

Now is the time to reassemble, renew, and re-earn the legitimacy of our institutions in the matter of immigration. Ours is a state built on immigration from all parts of the globe.

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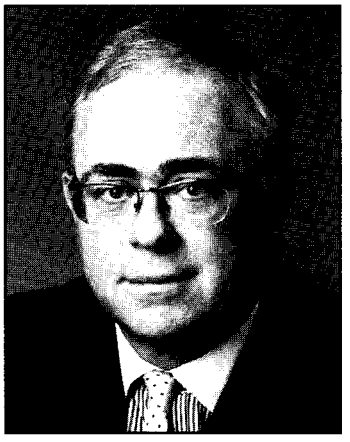
Seek out the Californian as immigrant and you find yourself, even if you must go back a generation or two or three or four. Even Native Americans came from someplace else. Illegal immigration, by contrast, is not to be placed in the same category as a legal entry. Illegal immigration perjures and debilitates our institutions and unfairly appropriates our tax dollars. Worse, it makes a mockery of those who have waited their turn and paid their dues and obeyed the law in their pilgrimage to the Golden State.

Now is the time to re-assemble, renew, and re-earn the *ecumenical* destiny of California as a world culture. The concept of multiculturalism, while praiseworthy, does not go far enough. It is not the proper destiny of California to have its component cultures, hundreds of them, grind against each other like ill-fitted gears. It is, rather, the special destiny of California to become an *ecumenical* society, which means a society expressive of human culture in all its component parts coming into dialogue. A multi-culturalism that tribalizes Californians into hostile ethnic enclaves is unworthy of a commonwealth that from its very origins attracted the attention and immigration of Latin America (including African Latin America), Europe, the fledgling American republic, and Asia.

Never again, perhaps, will California experience the affluence, the easy times that extended through the 1980s. But will not the necessities of choice and action in hard times ring to California a certain depth, a resilience and tenacity of character, that it somehow lost sight of in the decades of easy living? This newly emergent post-modernist California, flawed but persistent in its corrective struggle, promises to be of even more importance to the larger American experiment than the easy living California now receding into the distant past. After all, is not California, among other things, the prism through which America glimpses its unfolding identity; an identity like California, conditioned by new peoples and a scarcity of resources? The ancient Greeks believed that scarcity and fate were one and the same. Only when one chose amidst narrow options, the Greeks believed — indeed, chose to do that which must be done — was one truly free. In re-earning California, in re-assembling and revitalizing the embattled California dream, Californians will create for themselves a commonwealth, ecumenical and energized by hope, that will once again, in completely new circumstances, help renew the larger American experiment.



Kevin Starr is the State Librarian of California, a member of the faculty at the University of Southern California and the author of several books on California history.

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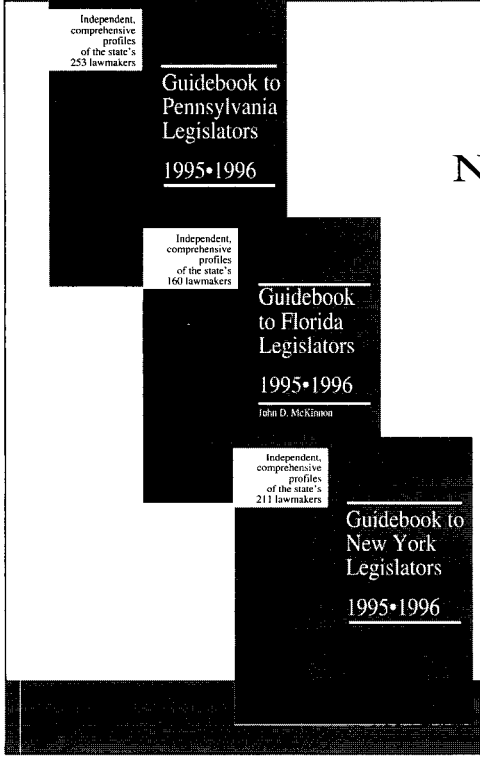
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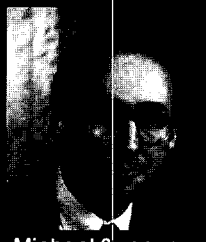

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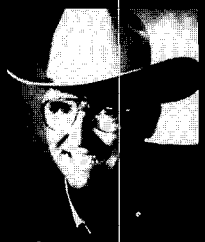

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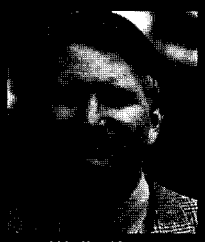

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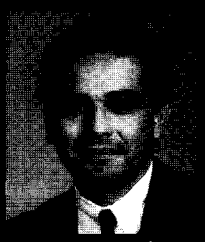

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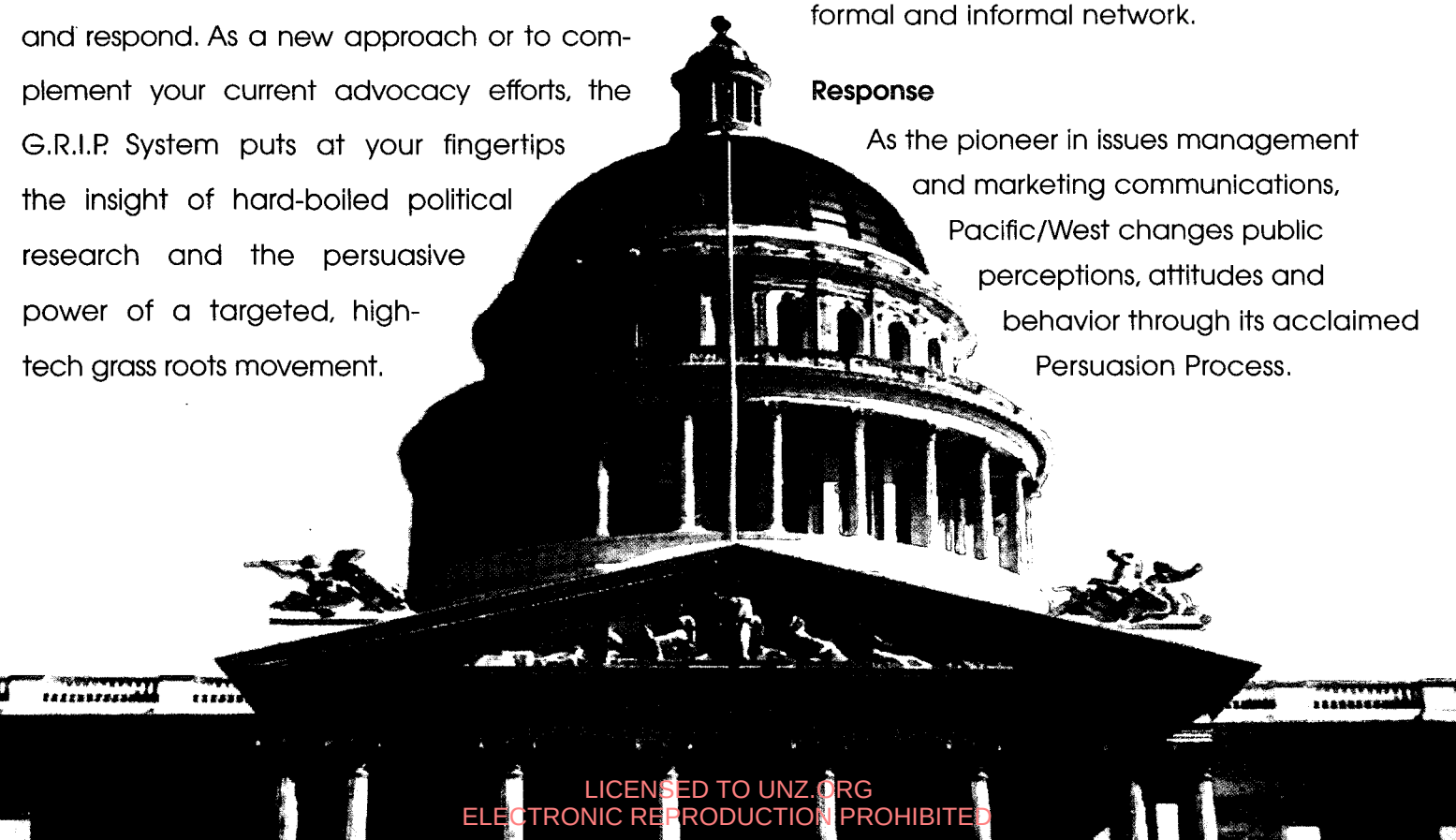

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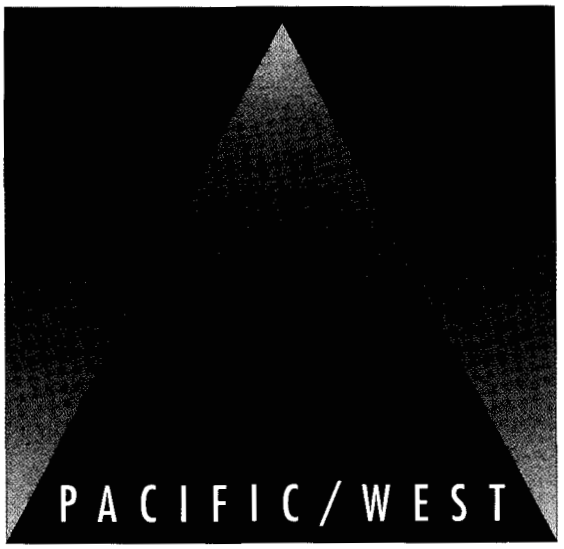

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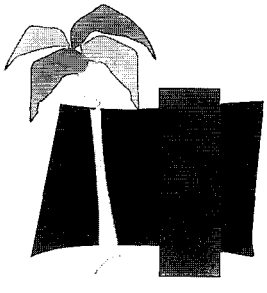
Handling problems wrongside up

Illustration by Darrell Forney, Journal cover 11/88

By William Kahrl



It's been almost 25 years to the day since I first drove into California with my wife, first son, and an Old English sheepdog. From the first, there were three things I loved most about the state: the gorgeous environment, the vicarious excitement of being part of a place on an artistic and cultural cutting edge, and a quality of open government that was unlike anything I'd known.

I grew up in small-town Ohio and was educated along the academic axis that runs from Chapel Hill to Cambridge, places where small elites could still dominate entire communities and political orthodoxy was strictly enforced. California's public agencies, by comparison, were more responsive, accessible, even honest for the most part. Here, it seemed, almost anyone with a damn fool idea — if he could get someone else to listen and played by the rules that were the same for everyone — had a fair chance of changing millions of lives.

The most wonderful thing about the last quarter century is that almost none of these qualities in California have really changed. The attraction is still just as strong.

The environment, though definitely more crowded, is better protected, more widely respected, and in most places more accessible than ever before. It's not just the mountains and the coast that we're concerned about

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anymore; we're learning to love the flat places of California, too — the interior valleys and desert and marsh lands. Over the next quarter century, I expect we'll begin to discover the Delta, a recreational resource that in any other state would be a prime attraction. Yet few Californians have ever seen it or realized its richness.

As for cultural development, the winds of change now seem to blow more steadily from the South and inland from the Pacific than from the East. But it's that cultural diversity, and the enormous engine of creativity and assimilation that it powers, that makes the art world of Los Angeles even more challenging and rewarding, not just for movies and TV but in fine arts, music, dance and even live theater. Who would have said that 25 years ago?

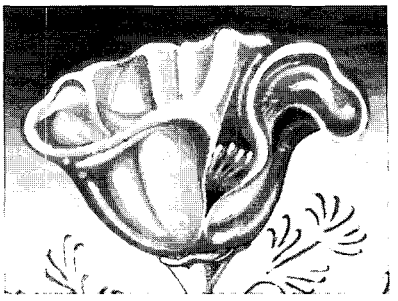
> There's nothing new about the way we tackle problems wrongside up.

In government, there's no question that the Legislature has fallen on hard times, as have many local agencies. But the state bureaucracy, though constantly maligned and these days severely overextended, still maintains a degree of competence, courtesy, and dedication that would be the envy of many other parts of the United States and most other nations. The success of Proposition 13 in 1978 and of Proposition 187 this year certainly demonstrates the continuing efficacy of damn fool ideas. In fact, it's the lunge from fad to fad, the cults, the constant buzz of political correctness — the very things that many find so infuriating about the public life of California — that proves our vitality. And it's that ferment that still makes public policy issues in California worth thinking about.

The substance of those issues has certainly changed in the last quarter century. Many have turned themselves inside out. Twenty-five years ago, for example, when the Williamson Act was still new, environmentalists put a premium on agricultural land preservation. Today, they treat farmers as the enemy, the federal Bureau of Reclamation is busy dismantling large parts of the water systems that first brought prosperity to the Central Valley, and the Environmental Defense Fund is promoting a water-marketing scheme at the behest of the Bank of America that can only work to destroy farmlands for the sake of continued urbanization of the South Coast.

By the same token, conservation was once regarded as a virtuous practice. The debate in water policy was over the best way to accomplish it, by increasing storage or reducing use. Today the Clinton administration demands that we dump millions of gallons of drinking water into the ocean for the sake of a fish, the Delta smelt. We do this even though the feds don't know how many smelt there are, or how to count them, or if wasting all this water will do them any good at all.

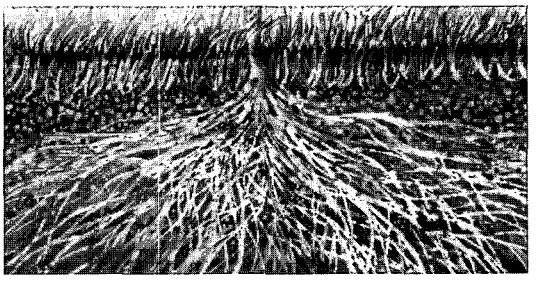
It's not just on environmental issues that I seem to have fallen behind a curve or two. I grew up believing that progressive taxation, which imposes levies according to people's ability to pay, was so obviously the right course that only the greedy few at the top of the economic food chain would oppose it. And yet, when it comes to raising revenues, Californians over the last 15 years have repeatedly voted their preference for user fees and sales taxes, which fall most heavily on the poor.



There's nothing new about the way we tackle problems wrongside up. A state that has probably never spent enough on primary and secondary education, as my colleagues at *The Sacramento Bee* often point out, devoted most of the last quarter century to spending billions to tear down schools and build new ones in the name of earthquake safety. That's been an enormous boon to the building trades. But is there any evidence that even one child was saved or that all the children would not have been better off if the money had been spent on books and teachers instead?

In the long run, it's not the individual issues that matter in California politics so much as the institutions we develop to address them. And that's where the greatest and many of the most troubling changes have occurred. Twenty-five years ago, for example, the thrust of government reform was toward greater openness, increasing public accountability, and providing more information on public policy to the public directly. Today the trends all run the other way. The same groups that once advocated openness have joined with the rest of the special interests in support of the new fashion of consensus building, in which select groups of so-called "stakeholders" confer in secret to fix public policy. The rooms may not be smoke-filled anymore, but the danger for the public interest is just as great.

The courts continue to play a vital role in the resolution of these issues, of course. But because of our preoccupation with public safety, their dockets have become increasingly crowded with criminal cases. That phenomenon has already made it harder to retain jurists of distinction on the state supreme court. But in the lower courts as well, the consideration of important issues in civil law is being delayed. Or, worse, these issues are being diverted into the expanding market for private judges, feeding the growth of a second tier of jurisprudence which carries no precedential value and is available only to the well-to-do. From the point of view of the community as a whole, that's the same as not addressing the issues at all.



The situation is far worse in state government. For 16 years after Ronald Reagan moved out of Sacramento, Californians chose a pair of governors who accomplished little to mark their passing and who, for very different reasons, regarded the whole idea of governmental activism with disdain. But if

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the voters were perhaps unwise in their own decisions at the polls, they have also been unlucky in the choices their elected representatives made for the second most powerful post in state government, the Assembly speaker.

The power of the speakership doesn't derive from ancient tradition or from Jesse Unruh, Bob Moretti, and the brief tenure of Bob Monaghan. They built the office and by extension the Legislature as a whole into a more than co-equal partner with the governor in running state government by developing a strong, independent staff system that was capable of taking the lead on a wide range of public issues.

Their successors, Leo McCarthy and Willie Brown, brought great talent to the post. But both from the first insisted that they had no policy objectives beyond perpetuating themselves in office. And sadly for California, both more than lived up to their word. As a result, the capacity and competence of the Legislature to serve as a policy-making body has for two decades been in precipitous decline. Today, its ability to function has been hedged all around by public outrage expressed through citizens' initiatives that have stripped its budget, limited the terms of its members, and severely restricted its control over the public purse.

Years ago, when William K. Muir sat down to write his book on the Legislature, "Legislature, California's School for Politics," he debated whether to compare it to a marketplace, circus, or a place of learning. In a recent years, however, the better analogy would be a feedlot. There is a world of difference, for example, between the substantive debates by lobbyists for the real-estate interests that delayed legislative action on coastal protection in the early 1970s on the one hand, and the way action on issues such as unitary taxation and workers compensation reform were held up in recent years while legislators and lobbyists alike linked up to milk the moneyed interests with a stake in the outcome.

When Unruh built the Assembly into what was hailed at the time as a national model of effectiveness, he had the advantage of building new. Restoring public trust in a discredited institution is harder. And reviving the traditions of professionalism and objectivity in staffing and public service after so many years of neglect will take a while. But there's no question that the institution can be redeemed. That, after all, is what elections are for. And as the vote in 1994 makes clear, they can change a lot.

William Kahrl is the Opinion Editor of The Sacramento Bee. *A former staffer for Assembly Speaker Bob Moretti and Governor Edmund G. Brown, Jr., he is the editor of "The California Water Atlas" and author of "Water and Power."*

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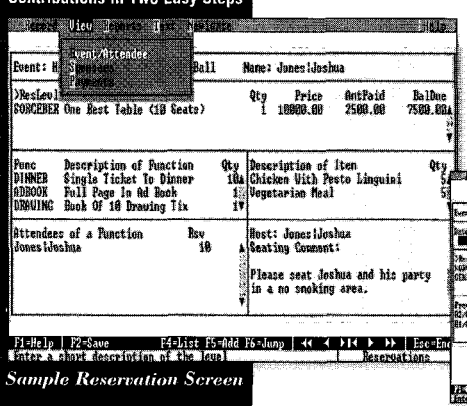

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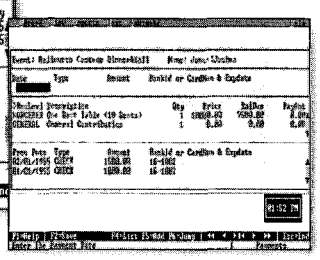

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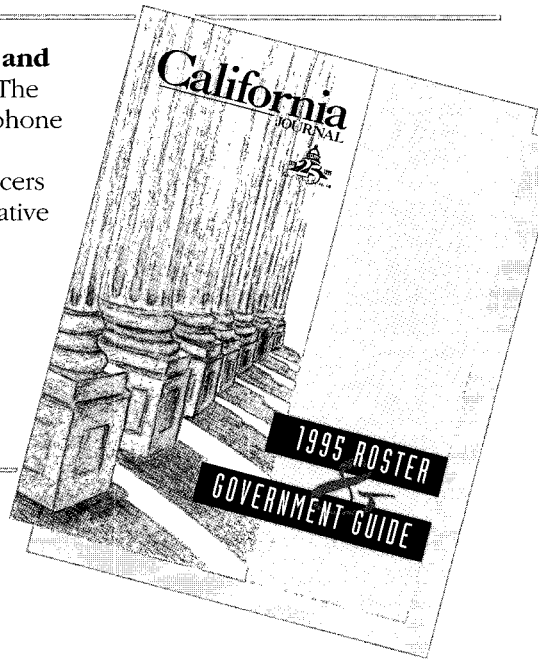

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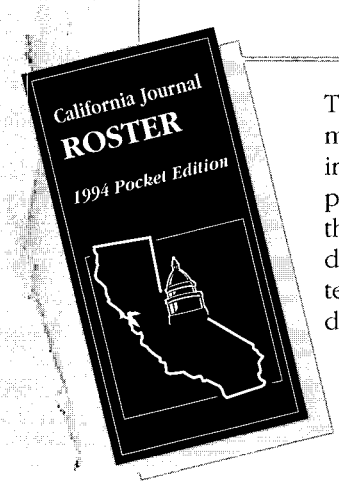

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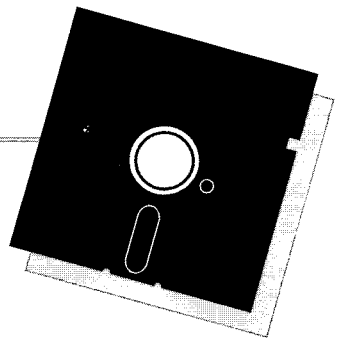

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A life among the homeless

the underside of the California Dream

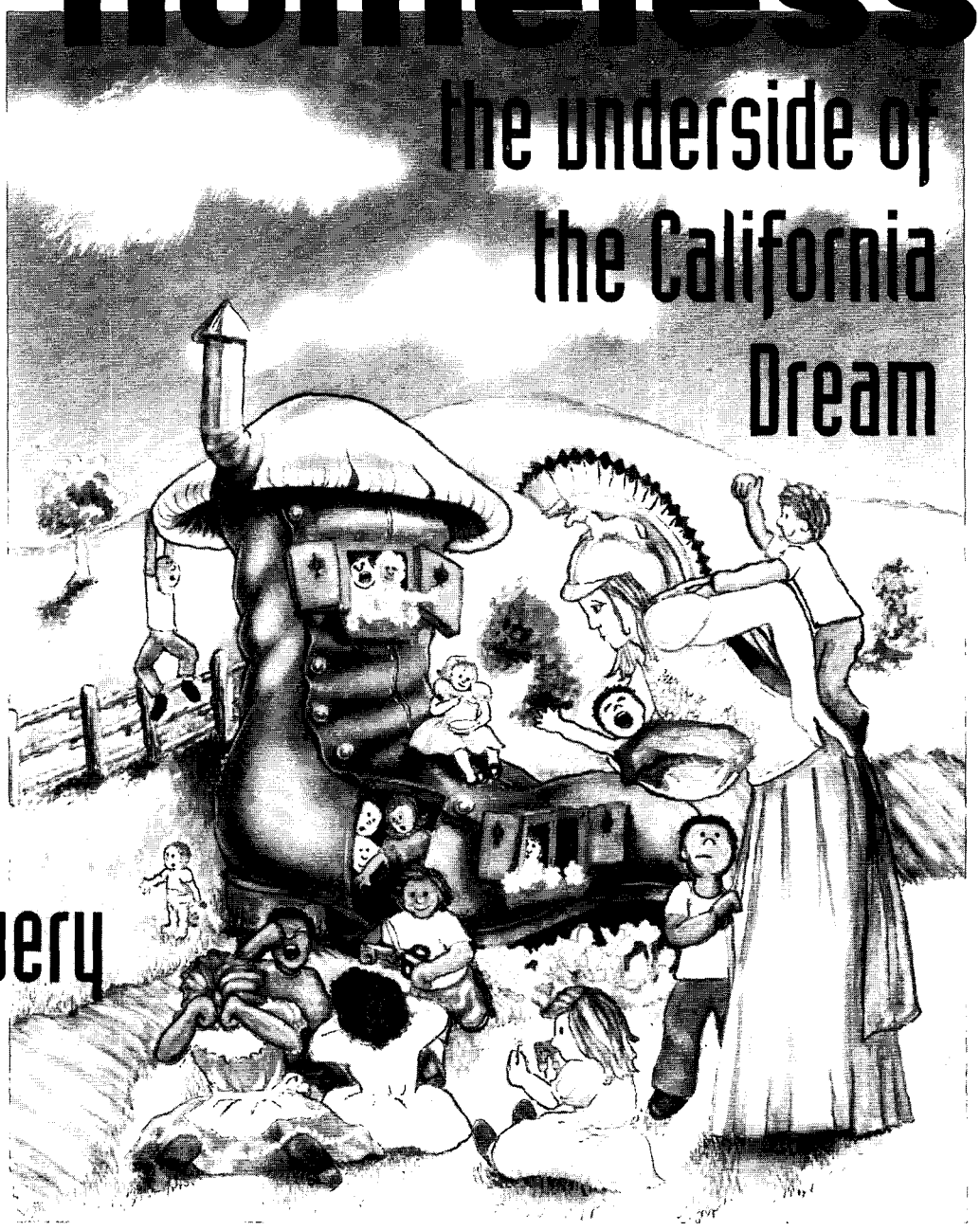
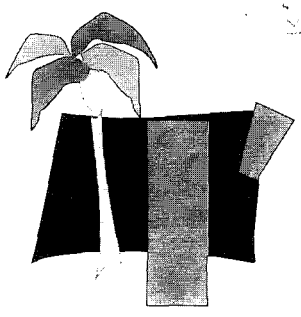


Illustration by Perry Babasin, Journal cover 8/92

By Mollie Lowery



ve been here for 10 years. I founded this place. Working with the homeless, I often feel charged by the people I work with. There's a real directness to them. The differences people grapple with out there is all here, but it's real, raw material. It's not clouded over. Issues of how people treat each other because of differences in race or mental illness or AIDS are not intellectualized. You've got to deal with it head on. You find out the guy with the tattoos is really okay. We're either going to stay stagnant, with everyone in their neighborhood pocket, or find a constructive way to appreciate differences and find creative outlets.

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This is the optimist part of me. This is what you can get out of it. Yet, everyday, people come down here who are new to this look at the depression, the dirt, the bad smell, the poverty and see negative, negative, negative. That is a fact. We have shoved 10,000 people into a four-block area (Skid Row) and forced them to live here.

I ask myself, what have we done to so not value human life? I see 23-year-olds with rotted teeth because of poor nutrition. The homeless crisis began in 1979. So we have a whole generation who've grown up with this crisis and are assuming that this is the structure of our society.

> It would be better if government looked to the neighborhoods for leadership and supported them.

Over the years, I've become disillusioned with electoral politics. Things happen because people care enough and act to make it happen: church ministers, activists, small business people. Those are the people on the front lines who can make a difference because they don't get co-opted. Legislation gets watered down, and when it gets implemented, it gets even worse. It would be better if government looked to the neighborhoods for leadership and supported them. My job has been to run a pioneering agency. But I have to spend an exorbitant amount of time worrying about how we're going to keep going. If our political leaders would come here and see what we've been doing, they'd give us the money to do it.

The changes I've seen over the years at LAMP are more younger people, more people of color. There is a disastrous lack of education, phenomenal illiteracy. There is more desperation and lack of spirit that comes with the long-term institutionalization of homelessness. That's what is abysmal. The loss is phenomenal. Now, homelessness is so deeply rooted that it is going to take years to change. This is not first aid anymore.

There is now a tremendous backlash. The mayor of Los Angeles has a plan for a big encampment. We're saying, don't make homeless reservations. We're saying what we do works, maybe not for thousands of people at a time, but for, say 800. There is acknowledgement, finally, that homeless people aren't going to just go away because we set up crisis shelters. But it's being acknowledged in this awful way, which is still saying, these people are now just refuse and in the way so we have to find a place to hide them.

I have to hope the pendulum swings back. But I think it's going to take the homeless organizing and really making a scene. I don't know why riots are the only way people will listen, but that's what is going to happen. People will start letting society know that they should be feared. I hope it doesn't have to get to that.

Doing direct service helps keep things in perspective because you see changes and you see growth. It's fun to see lives change and thrive. As a younger person, I didn't have the patience. Change comes when there is enough safety, resources and encouragement. It takes persistence. It's been a real privilege. I've been here 10 years and, looking back, I can

really feel excited that it works, that my time with these folks has made a difference.

I'm very privileged to even be able to dream of a different life. Most people I work with don't and never will. LAMP was a dream, too. I started LAMP as a dream. I see moving to a ranch as an extension because I hope to loop it back. I hope that people whose lives have been hampered by inaccessibility will be able to use it. I hope to set up a wilderness packing business using llamas for people who've never had that experience before. I've got 46 acres with a little house on it. We'll build a barn and fences. There's a stream. It's a place people can be on the land and learn about animals.

I've always loved backpacking in the Eastern Sierras. I thought of living up there because I always got altitude sickness going back and forth. That made me think of all the people I'd introduced to the wilderness. I want to help folks get back to the wilderness without it being such a hardship. I looked for land and I looked for llamas, which are good for packing; they can carry about 70 pounds. This makes the wilderness more accessible. I will become executive director of Wild Iris Women's Services in Mono and Inyo counties, which is a battered women's shelter, hotline and child-abuse prevention program.

I'm reaching for something that feeds my heart and soul: being out of the city and part of the wilderness. I see that individual dream looping back into my activist life, creating a way to make a better place for disenfranchised people. It doesn't make sense finding my quiet corner and living my life. I'll always be trying to change what's not working in our social structure.

— As told to Laureen Lazarovici

Mollie Lowery was executive director of Los Angeles Men's Place (LAMP), a drop-in support network and shelter for the homeless mentally ill. She was interviewed during her last month at LAMP. In November, she left the agency she helped found and moved to the Eastern Sierra.

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An interview with Barry Gifford

The dream factory:

Hollywood and the entertainment business are the gold fields of the 21st Century

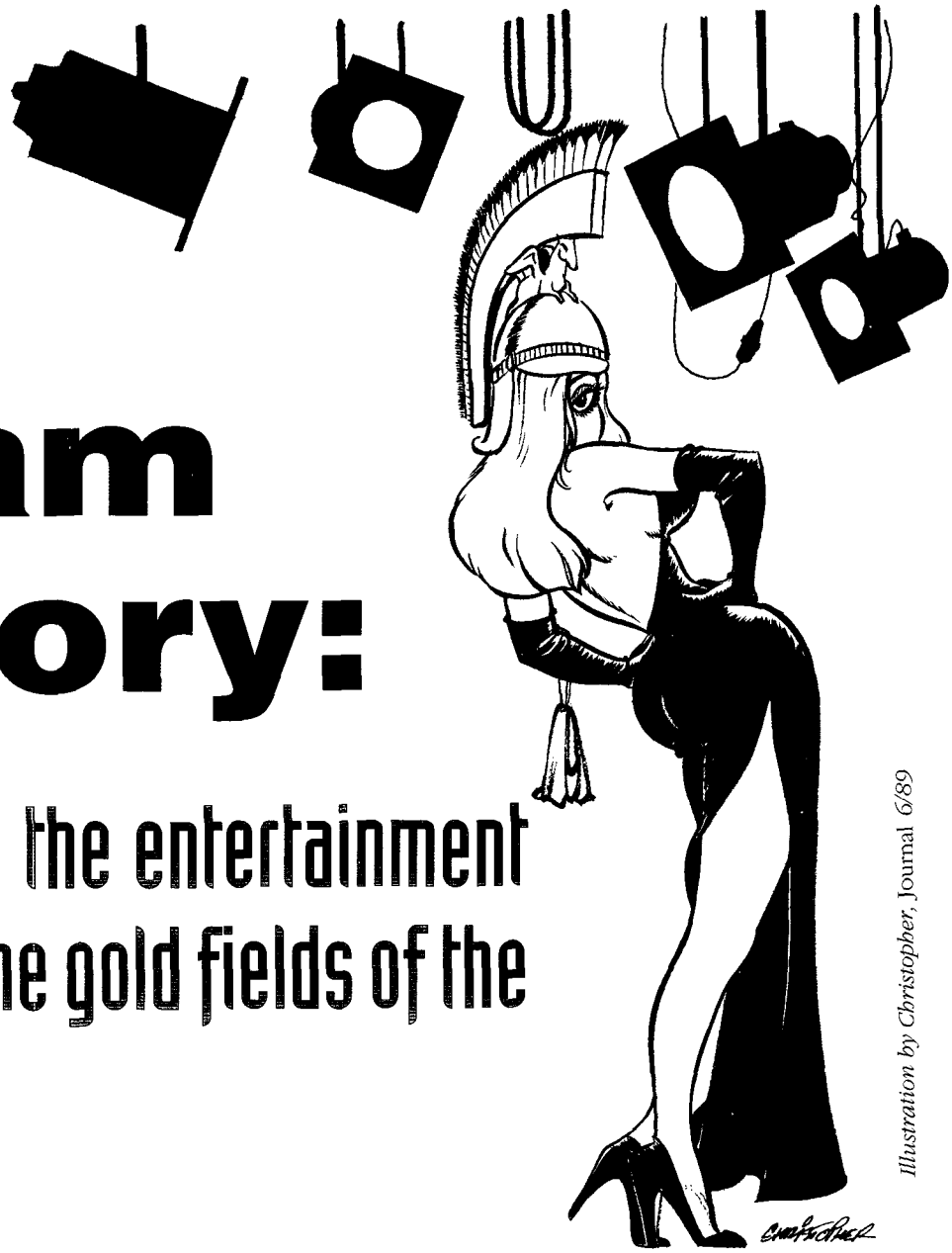
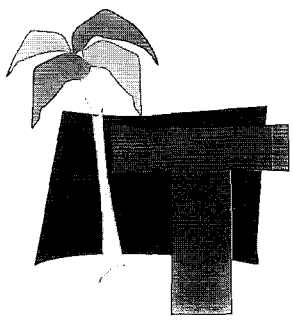


Illustration by Christopher, Journal *6/89*



The movie industry today is a rock-and-roll kind of business. By that I mean that it's open to anyone. You can be a quadruple murderer escapee from San Quentin, but if you've got a great idea that appeals to people with the money and power to get a film made and distributed, their battery of lawyers will keep you out of jail and keep you from the gas chamber.

In a way, this is not unlike the gold fields of the 1840s. People still come from all over the world to this idea of "Hollywood." Hollywood itself is a metaphor, but the glamour it symbolizes is a profound lure. The myth of Hollywood and the myth of California is built on this to a large measure. The real city of Hollywood is a shambles, but the idea of Hollywood is very much alive. And this isn't just Los Angeles, because the industry has expanded to the Bay Area in significant ways. You have LucasFilm in Marin, Fantasy Film in Berkeley, Zoetroppe Studios in San Francisco, Industrial Light and Magic and various

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filmmakers spread around the area.

Whether you want to be an actor, or a writer for films and television, or a producer — you still have to come to California. Of course, 99.9 percent of the people who come out here with some vague notion of making it in film or television — don't. And they wind up running supermarkets or working in gas stations or providing services because the industry creates the need for it all. And you can't limit this to film. The music business also is very strong in Los Angeles.

But even the people who don't make it bring something valuable to California. These are the people who are willing to uproot themselves from Dipstick, Ohio, to come to here to try to make it in the entertainment field. They're the adventurers and the risk-takers who aren't satisfied with life in Dipstick, and this continues to bring to California a more aggressive, forward-thinking population.

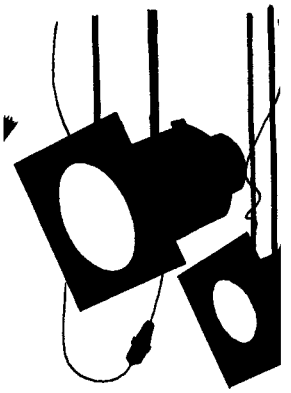
As far as writers are concerned, San Francisco always attracted me because you could get by and be left alone to do your work. It was like neutral territory for someone who grew up half in Chicago and half in the deep South. San Francisco had a street life and a Bohemian tradition, a place without the economic pecking order that you find in the East, a place where artists were tolerated. And it has continued to be that way, which is why so many literary writers choose to live here. Per capita, there are more serious writers here than anywhere else.

I was inspired to write by reading Joseph Conrad and Jack London, so I went out and worked on ships and drove a truck and worked construction, and traveled all over the world, because I thought this is what a writer had to do. Then, you wrote about it and got published in New York by Scribners. Younger writers now are oriented more naturally toward television and film; they're writing screenplays. And the market for that work is the studios in California. Those studios control the theaters and the distribution of films. They hold the economic power, and they've always held it.

Hollywood is like the Brooklyn Bridge. Over and over, people buy into the myth of California as El Dorado

The film industry was originally based in New York, and when the early filmmakers came to LA, it was a desert, a small community. But it was appealing because the weather allowed you to film all year. And the great thing about the area was that within an hour or two, you had virtually every kind of terrain and climate. Even today, you see movies that you think are taking place in Montana or in Chicago or in Hawaii or in Bora Bora — but it's all within an hour of LA. When we were filming "Wild at Heart," we were in Colton, and that was West Texas. And it looks just like West Texas. And then we had to have a bungalow on a street in a small town, and we were in Pasadena.

LA became unique because of the way it grew up. All these people from the Midwest and the East and the South tried to re-create their homes. They imported trees that were not native to California so they could have the same allergies in California as they had in Iowa. And they built neighborhoods that re-created neighborhoods from the rest of the country. That made LA a fabulous fantasyland for filmmakers. And filmmakers, in turn, made California a dreamland for the rest of the nation.



Maybe California's in a recession, but there still is a lot of money in the world to spend and invest in entertainment, and it naturally flows toward California. The Japanese are a good example. They invested heavily in Hollywood, and they took a bath. Sony bought Columbia, Tri-Star and all that, and they lost God knows how much money. Other Japanese investors came in and did somewhat better in a smaller fashion. But the California myth existed for them. Hollywood is like the Brooklyn Bridge. Over and over, people buy into the myth of California as El Dorado.

And the myth itself continues to reinvent itself. Now, there's David Geffen and Steven Spielberg and Jeffrey Katzenburg dealing with the same myth, the same dream, but with the technology and the knowledge of the technology to further the dream, advance the dream — to keep the dream alive. They are visionaries, pioneers, the inheritors of the dreams of the filmmakers who came to LA in the 1910s and '20s.

All this reinvention is taking place in California. We're on the cutting edge of an entertainment and communications revolution, whether it's films, TV, satellites, on-line computer stuff, "direcTV," or virtual reality. All this is happening now in California, while to people in Iowa or Florida, this is Mars. As long as California can keep that edge, it'll be a viable place of opportunity. All this creates the need for writers, technicians, everybody.

Why California? California has never been dominated by Eastern establishment thinking — by the suits. It never had an established, old-line elite that meant anything, and that is why the movie business thrives. It doesn't matter who the hell you are. You can come off the ranch in Idaho, you can come out of San Quentin, you could come as a stowaway on a boat from China — and within six months, you might have a job a Warner Brothers, or you might have a contract in some capacity.

In the Eastern establishment, in the time-bound way of doing things, you come up through the ranks in a certain way. You have to have a degree from here, a recommendation from that person, a family background. So much of it is old-boy networking that, by and large, is not the case in California.

Here, your opportunity for success depends on your own devices and abilities — what you can do. The old joke is true — even a boy or girl washing cars can be in movies. It's the old myth about Lana Turner , sitting in Schwab's Drug Store at Hollywood and Vine and being discovered. In fact, what may have been true for Lana Turner in the '30s is even more true today because you don't have to look like Lana Turner to be a star and be promoted as a star. Look at rap performers. People come from mean circumstances, and the next thing

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you know, they're starring in a motion picture with Michelle Pfeffier. Who was Michelle Pfeiffer? She was a checker in a grocery store. It's there. It really does exist, and this is where you have to come to do it.

But here's the trick part about the entertainment industry: Today doesn't mean anything for tomorrow. Just because you sold something today, or just because your movie was a hit today, that's no guarantee. This is not like working for the post office; there is no guarantee of a check next week. You have to keep coming up with ideas. I come into my studio every day and have to think, "What's next?" It's the mantra for the entire industry. "What's next?"

Even though the market is out there, that doesn't mean the market is interested in my ideas. And if you're in the entertainment industry, and a new wave comes in at, say, the network, and you're an executive ... or a new wave comes in at the film studio — and this new wave is always younger and younger, and in touch, supposedly, with the 10-, 11- and 12-year-olds who sit in theater seats or tune into programs — you could be out. If the public no longer wants anything to do with what I write, I'll be selling pop and bait on a dock in West Florida.

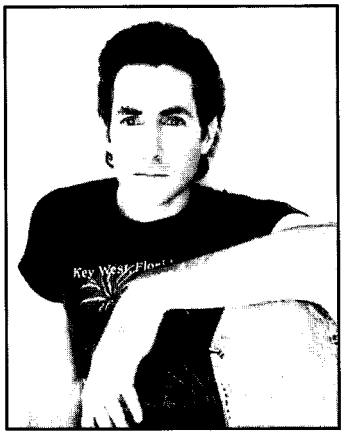
This attitude obviously breeds caution, which is why Rocky I begets Rocky VI. A failure on an expensive movie can mean your job if you're an executive. But it also creates a constant need for ideas. The entertainment industry needs new perspectives. It needs individuals. It celebrates the cult of the individual — at the same time that it panders to the masses. That may seem paradoxical, but it's not. If you have what it wants, it'll fly a private jet into Travers City, Michigan, to pick you up, if that's where you live. It will spare no expense to get what it thinks you have.

But remember, while you're on its mind, you're the most important person in the world. It can't do enough for you. It will cater to your every whim, every fancy, every desire. Then, it's on to the next thing, and it never heard of you. When we talk about this in the abstract, that any kid washing a car can make it in Hollywood, I'm never surprised by it because there is this crying need for new blood. This constant need will always be there and always need to be filled.

Perhaps these billions and billions of dollars spent in the entertainment business would be better spent figuring out how to keep the planet alive, but the world keeps spinning and will continue to spin until it falls off its axis.

And, of course, when it does fall off its axis, someone from California will be filming the end of the world.

— *A. G. Block*



Barry Gifford is a Bay Area novelist, poet, songwriter, essayist, journalist and screenwriter. His novel "Wild at Heart" was made into an award-winning film by director David Lynch. His most recent novel, "Arise and Walk," was published last fall by Hyperion.

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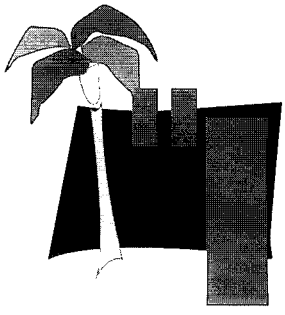
The California Dream:

often a surreal distortion for Asian Americans

By William Wong

Photo by Rich Pedroncelli, Journal cover 8/86



mmigrant" has become a dirty word in California, and that's unfortunate. I can't escape, nor do I want to, my immigrant past, despite political pressures to not identify with the new pariah class.

Never mind the niceties about distinguishing between "legal" and "illegal" immigrants. Sure, Proposition 187 was aimed at ending publicly funded social services (except for emergency medical visits) to anyone who can't prove legal U.S. residency. But the subtext of much of the public discourse leading to the 18-point victory on November 8, 1994, for Proposition 187 was really about "us" (certifiable U.S. citizens) versus "them" (everyone else, especially Latinos and Asians who make up the bulk of recent immigrants).

Ironically, I wasn't even in California, or the United States, for that matter, when 59 percent of my fellow Californians who bothered to vote chose to isolate illegal immigrants, especially children. After casting my absentee ballot (against 187, among other votes), I climbed aboard a Singapore Airline

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747 jetliner and headed for the homeland of my father and mother, China, on an ancestral roots journey. The discovery of my parents' tiny, dilapidated brick and tile-roofed home in the hard-to-find village of Goon Doo Hong, deep inside Taishan County of Guangdong Province, just west of the Portugese colony of Macao, brought home the crass political expedien-

Success stories shouldn't obscure difficulties Asian Americans continue to have, some as explicit victims of hate crimes and sentiments, others as subtle victims of employment discrimination.

cies and mean-spiritedness of Proposition 187 as it applies to people all over the world who seek the California and American Dream.

In an earlier generation, my parents were among the millions of dreamers. Stories about "Gum Saan" (literally "gold mountain," referring to the discovery of gold in California in 1849) had long filtered back to the impoverished residents of Goon Doo Hong and scores of other villages in the Pearl River Delta. Famine and poverty drove people like my parents to take enormous risks to cross the Pacific Ocean, not on elegant 747s, but in rickety sampans and decrepit ocean liners.

From 1882 through World War II, U.S. immigration laws, policies and practices were decidedly hostile to Celestial Sons. Somehow, Chinese immigrants managed to come to California to seek a fortune that most often was elusive and illusory. Before the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, passed by Congress at the urging of California white labor and political leaders, Chinese laborers were sought by the dominant economic interests to do the scut work in building the Golden State and connecting it to the rest of the nation. But when the clannish, hard-working men whose cultural practices were quite different from European Americans' became unwanted competition, they were vilified and targeted for harassment, arson and murder with virtually no protection from local, regional, state or federal governments.

By the time my father first came to Oakland as a teenager in 1912 and finally settled in the East Bay city in 1933 with his wife and three daughters, conditions for ethnic Chinese had improved marginally. But they still had to skirt the law to get in. Ethnic Chinese men who were U.S citizens couldn't bring over their spouses, but could bring in female siblings, so my mother became my father's sister, for immigration purposes. They maintained this charade (of which there were many versions in California Chinatowns before 1965) until my mother "confessed" in a federal amnesty program in the early 1960s.

I was born in Oakland in 1941 and quickly became immersed in the dual cultures of Chinese America and other America. As my sisters and I grew into active, productive lives in California, we always maintained a curiosity about our roots. Without any advance notice and with the barest of information, three sisters, two brothers in law, two nieces, one nephew and I launched our search in early November. We found my parents' village and home and discovered two distant cousins, whose lives are hard scrabble and primitive compared to our comfortable middle-class status. As I stood in the only room of my parents' home left standing intact, I couldn't help but be amazed at the distances we have come — physically, psychologically, culturally — in a matter of two generations.

This is not necessarily a morality tale of the Proposition 187 era. Today, conditions are different. Today, Californians who trace their roots to Asia are far more numerous than they were in the days when my parents came to transplant their roots. People of Asian descent make up at least 10 percent of California's 32 million residents, and many have far greater opportunities than my parents had. Approximately 40 percent of the Asian American population of more than eight million call California their home.

California Asians are of incredible variety, from fifth-generation Japanese American to newly arrived Chinese villagers, from the descendants of Filipino American farmworkers to Cambodian refugees. They also occupy a vast range of socio-economic profiles, form hot-shot Hong Kong entrepreneurs clutching ubiquitous cellular phones to illiterate Hmong elders dependent on public assistance, from university chancellors to hardened gangsters.

Asian Americans in California have begun to make their mark in fields once closed to my parents' generation, which had limited economic outlets such as small restaurants, stores and laundries, or as servants, cooks and semi-skilled laborers. Many people of Asian descent continue the entrepreneurial tradition, in such disparate settings as South Central Los Angeles and Silicon Valley. Professions like medicine and law now have Asian representation. Even professional athletics have a few Asian Americans such as Michael Chang and Kristi Yamaguchi, who have California roots.

Political power for California Asians remains weak, but there are signs more Asian Americans are attempting to break the mold of political invisibility. Matt Fong just won the state treasurer's post, three Chinese Americans competed for a place on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors (one, Mabel Teng, made it), and Chinese Americans have made energetic, but unsuccessful, attempts at becoming mayors of Los Angeles and Oakland.

Success stories shouldn't obscure difficulties Asian Americans continue to have, some as explicit victims of hate crimes and sentiments, others as subtle victims of employment discrimination.

No question, if my parents were alive today, they might not believe the distances traveled by today's young Chinese and Asian Americans. But they would remain wary because some of their fellow Californians aren't feeling particularly generous in spirit about the desire of people not unlike themselves to pursue the California Dream, even in its slightly surreal state.

William Wong is a columnist for The Oakland Tribune.

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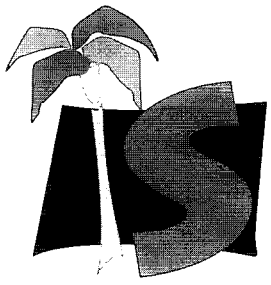
In Search of the California Dream

Our strength lies in our diversity

Illustration by Jan Castle

By Maxine Waters



Since the middle of the 19th Century, Americans have looked upon California as a destination, a place to make their mark and build a future. In 1994 one of every eight Americans lives in California. Californians earn more money and spend more money than the people of any other state. If our accomplishments are great, so too are our tragedies: the earthquakes in San Francisco and Los Angeles; the fires that sweep our slopes; the frustration and hopelessness that bubble below the surface, only to burst out in civil unrest such as we saw in Los Angeles less than three years ago.

For all the state's wealth, California's most valuable resource is our people. At a time when ethnic hatreds hold sway in many parts of the world, true Californians celebrate our incredible diversity. Whether Chicano or Vietnamese, Italian or African American, Chinese or Irish, all Californians are looking to catch their piece of the California dream. While some may seek comfort in their sameness, we flaunt our diversity.

Our dream is and must be to build a California where all recognize diversity for the strength it truly is. Just after the turn of the century, California's population is expected to become majority non-white. Already our politics, our economy, and especially our culture have been changing to reflect that coming reality. California's diversity will bolster our economy, opening up new opportunities for trade and commerce with Latin America and the Pacific Rim nations. Just as New York served as the gateway for ideas and culture from Europe, so California is positioned by geography and diversity to be the port of call for Asia and our neighbors to the south. California is chock full of success stories cutting across all racial and ethnic divides.

California's diversity makes us a cultural mecca for the whole world. In art, music, theater and film, our differences and common ground come together to fill a rich canvas. California's sounds are heard the

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world over. Our playwrights labor in whatever language to communicate the reality of their lives. Our fiestas and marketplaces, theaters and concerts draw people from around the world.

As we approach the 21st Century, however, we cannot forget how elusive the California dream really is for so many of our state's people. Hope and opportunity are in short supply for many Californians, whether they live in the inner-city neighborhoods or in rural areas. Too many Californians look fearfully over their shoulders as they walk down their own streets. Many of our children do not receive the education they need if they are to realize their God-given talents. Downsizing in defense and aerospace has meant hard times for working people, their companies, and their communities.

This nation of ours, which has watched California cope with calamities of every sort, will be watching us closely. In these difficult times, there will be a tendency to scapegoat those who are different, to comfort the comfortable and blame the afflicted. There will be those who seek to divide Californians one from the other, based on where they were born or where they live. Legitimate concern about immigration policy aside, Proposition 187 is an ominous turn. At the very time when we should be pulling together to overcome our difficulties, we are drawing lines around people and declaring them "unworthy." We live in times when the rich are getting richer, the poor ever poorer and the middle class is treading water, working longer and harder just to keep their heads above water.

We must remember, above all, that our strength lies in our diversity. We must create a California economy that works for all Californians. We must empower people to take control of their own lives and of their communities.

Californians who came before us had the vision and the courage to anticipate the future, to invest in the California that was yet to come. They invested in infrastructure. They preserved our natural beauty. They grasped the importance of a quality system of public education. They organized the unorganized and weren't afraid to confront the powers-that-be. What we sow now will be reaped by our children and by our grandchildren.

Maxine Waters is a Democratic member of the House of Representatives from Los Angeles. She served in the state Assembly prior to her election to Congress in 1990.

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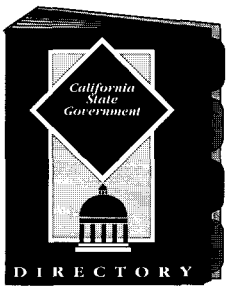

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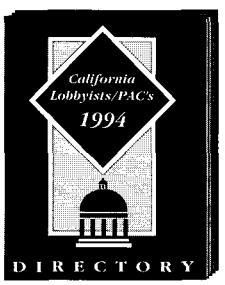

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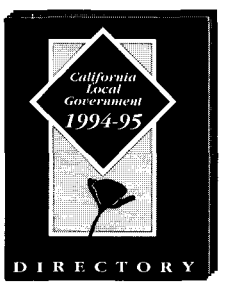

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Latinos in California's Future

by Leo F. Estrada

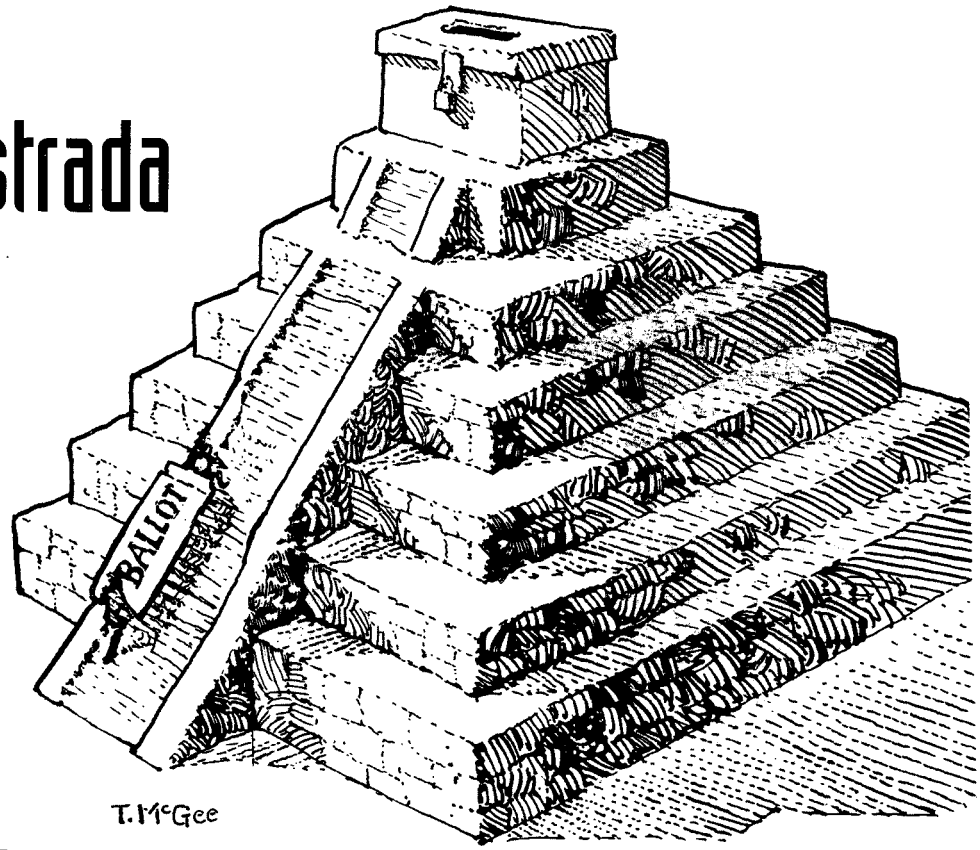

Illustration by Tom McGee, Journal 1/87

Latinos have spent the last 25 years in California trying to accommodate and integrate into California's mainstream. Latinos in California have progressed incrementally, election by election, through small businesses becoming enterprises, occasional appointments to significant boards and commissions, and a visible presence in most state occasions. There have been, of course, a few notable high-profile events in that process — the farmworker strikes and grape boycotts, the East Los Angeles "brown-outs" in the schools, and student protests — but for the most part Latinos have attained leadership roles and progressed quietly and without much fanfare. Latinos have not sought to shove their way into the public arena but have relied on the acceptance of others based on their willingness to play by the rules. Thus, despite signs of continued resistance, Latinos have shown great patience and optimism in their future in California.

The November 1994 election, however, was a shock to many of those who have been willing to accept incremental progress and to those who thought that Latinos had attained a higher level of societal acceptance. They wrongly assumed that the voters would recognize the "spill-over" effects of Proposition 187 that could jeopardize the lives of legally resident and citizen Latinos. It was self-evident that Proposition 187, which focused on children and poor people in need of medical help, was crudely designed to reflect

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negatively over all vulnerable segments of California's population. In the aftermath of the election, there was relief that the proposition would not be implemented immediately; however, it was also clear that Proposition 187 was not the culmination of this anti-immigrant movement but rather the opening shot in a long battle to come. With voter approval of Proposition 187, Latino populations in California are entering a critical stage in their history, where they are a cross-current to California's expressed goals and future.

> California Latinos are already the state's largest minority and, by the year 2015, they will be the nation's largest ethnic/racial group as well.

Latinos are a high-growth community at a time when the growth ideology — the belief that growth and expansion are inherently beneficial — is waning. Today's environmental concerns with non-renewable resources, sustainable economies and world population has shifted the discourse to arenas where impressive and dramatic Latino growth is viewed unfavorably. Immigration from Mexico, Central and South America and migration from Puerto Rico accelerates Latino growth. Thus, it is not surprising that California is in the midst of a restrictive immigration era, and proposals to reduce immigrant flows are desperately sought in the refusal of services for undocumented immigrants.

California's Latino population is young at a time when the Anglo population is more mature and has turned away from children, youth and young families and turned to concerns about housing values, policing, and security in their retirement. Thus, those issues that concern the youthful Latino population are less at the forefront of mainstream concerns.

For some time, California's Latino population has been largely peripheral to the state's political system. Most Latinos are too young to vote and many others, as non-citizens, are ineligible to vote. While representing one of every four Californians in population but only one of every 13 California voters, Latino concerns are less likely to receive attention.

In addition, California's Latinos are viewed as a regional minority rather than as a statewide minority group. California Latinos are already the state's largest minority and, by the year 2015, they will be the nation's largest ethnic/racial group as well. But there are few signs to indicate that state or national leaders have taken note of that fact and begun to actively promote Latinos within the existing power structures.

The expectation has generally been that Latinos, while primarily of Mexican origin, will be unable to act collectively or work in concert due to their internal heterogeneity and sub-group differences. Thus, despite these projections there are few signs that any significant role is being prepared for Latinos in California's future. The primary reason is that Latinos challenge California's self-image. Latinos challenge the precept that California is capable of acculturating and integrating newcomers. The expectation that with time, newcomers would shed their nationalistic feelings, native language and eventually become "brown Anglos" — Americanized in every way — just does not work anymore. Latinos challenge the idea that there is one, unified American culture in California.

Latinos who are primarily bilingual — along with other recent immigrant groups — challenge the state's delusion that it is primarily an English-speaking state. Latinos challenge the ethnocentric idea of California as the most important state in the United States, as Latinos view California as just one part of the equation in the Pacific Rim or one part of the greater hemisphere. Latinos challenge the United States-Western European ties that have served historically as a foundation for our foreign policy and cause them to move south to U.S.-Mexico/Central and South America where traditional paternal approaches are no longer tolerated and new patterns yet established.

Latinos challenge the dominant English media and the information it portrays with a parallel system of Spanish language television, radio and newspapers. Latinos challenge the prevailing system of race — viewed generally as a black/white dichotomy — with an ethnic element equivalent to race and with a mix of skin colors that offset long-held stereotypes. Latinos challenge the prevailing culture, the concept of what California is and should be. This is why Latinos remain on the periphery. The challenge is too broad and threatening to embrace with open arms.

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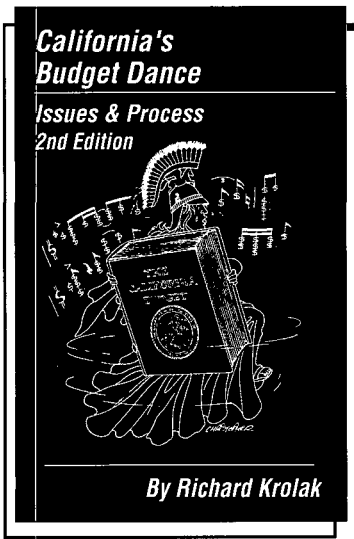

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Given these factors, what hope is there for Latinos to assert themselves into the state's arena?

First, Latinos are residentially concentrated in the most populous metropolitan counties, areas that historically have more political representation in the Assembly, with sufficient votes to sway a statewide election in a state that has experienced some notoriously tight races. In addition, residential concentration is found in the state's major metropolitan centers with its powerful economic forces. Latinos have not yet been able to use this advantageous position to their benefit, but all the elements are in place and will continue to be there into the near future.

Second, Mexico and Latin America are emerging as significant partners to the United States in the developing global economy. With increasing trade and commerce the role of Latinos as a "liaison culture" to this economic world will emerge.

Finally, Latinos have increasingly shown an interest in knowing and understanding other Latino sub-groups. Most Mexican-origin persons from East Los Angeles are unlikely to visit or get to know Latinos in the Inland Empire, San Joaquin Valley, or any other of the many Latino enclaves in California. Nonetheless, largely due to Spanish-language television, Mexicans have come to understand the Cuban-American concerns with Cuba; the struggle between statehood, commonwealth and independent forces in Puerto Rico; and the emerging democracies of Central America. Mexicans in a California barrio listen to Puerto Rican *salsa*, Dominican *merengues*, along with their Tex-Mex music and *banda*. They watch *novelas* produced in Argentina and Venezuela and then watch Bart Simpson. Mexicans watch soccer from Mexico and Spain and Los Angeles Raider football. Mexicans learn about elections results in Parlier, the grape harvest in Novato, earthquakes in Coachella Valley, and about new educational programs in San Luis Obispo. Interestingly, Spanish-language media serves to link Latinos together in an "information *carretera*" that is bringing Latinos together, mixing our cultures and merging together elements of Latino/California culture into new entities. Where this will lead in the future is uncertain. What is certain is that Latinos — and this emerging amalgamation of Latino elements — cannot be ignored.

In retrospect, Proposition 187 may well be exactly what was needed to mobilize this large and growing population, to demystify their views of how they are viewed by others and to allow a more aggressive and forceful leadership to emerge. With well-defined "targets" like Governor Pete Wilson and Proposition 187 co-author Howard Ezell, political mobilization will be easier even if it results in political tactics based on "we-versus-they." Finally, Latinos in California can make it imperative that Californians confront the future of post-Anglo California.

Leo Estrada is a demographer with the School of Public Policy and Social Research at the University of California, Los Angeles. He specializes on the Latino poulation in the southwestern United States.

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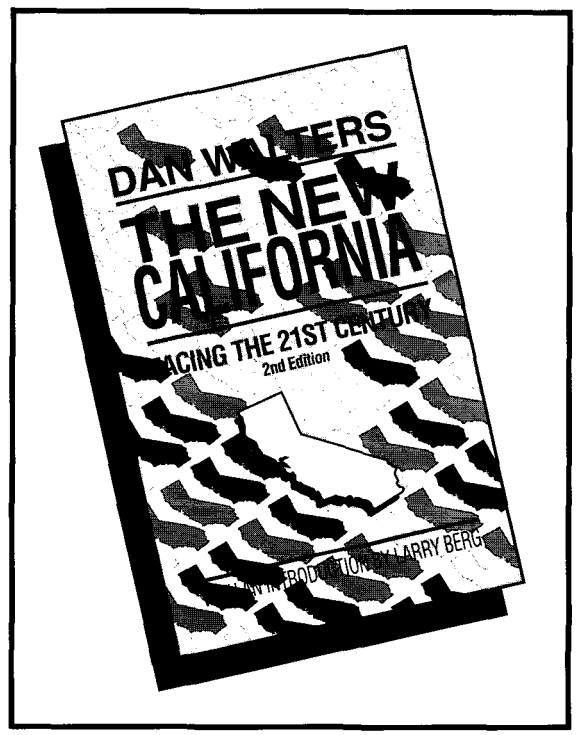

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California, Progress or....

By Larry Berg

Illustration by Tom McGee, Journal 2/86

A journey through copies of the *California Journal* of the early '70s reveals that the issues and problems confronting Californians have changed little in terms of topic. Political battles were waged, and are still being waged, over budget deficits, taxes, education finance, welfare reform, crime, prisons, health care, jobs versus the environment, and local government revenue crises. The issues may have moved up or down on the political agenda, but rarely did any of them disappear. Indeed, some specific problems related to state government and technology were reprised. For example, the August 1970 *Journal* included a feature titled "State has $67 million computer snarl," a topic that emerged again in the 1994 campaign for governor. However, the dollar amount of the current "snarl" was far higher and the rhetoric far more strident.

With the exception of subject matter, however, little else about the policy-making arena bears much similarity. There was a revenue crisis in 1970 as there has been in recent years. Unlike today, however, then-Governor Ronald Reagan was able to dip into a state revenue surplus fund that had been left by his predecessor, Governor Pat Brown. Although that surplus was rapidly being exhausted by 1970, nothing more dramatically highlights the fiscal differences between 1970 and the present then the fact that a recent state deficit was larger than the budget proposed by Reagan in 1970.

Although partisanship had been escalating in the late 1960s, it certainly did not approach the level of today's shrill personal and partisan attacks in political discourse and election campaigns at every level. Lou Cannon lamented the nasty quality of some of the 1970 campaigns, but few could have predicted at that time, the tenor of many 1994 campaigns and the amount of money that candidates would spend. But then, who could have imagined the kind of media campaign that would be waged when a virtual unknown dropped approximately $28 million of his own fortune in an attempt to become a United States senator? In fact, Michael Huffington spent more on his quest than was spent in the 1970 primary and general elections by all candidates for state constitutional races, the U.S. Senate and congressional races, all state legislative races and those for the Board of Equalization. The most expensive Assembly campaign in 1970 totaled $120,000, while the largest expenditure on the state

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Senate side was $140,000 by a losing Republican candidate. In 1972 only eight Assembly races involved expenditures in excess of $100,000. These expenditures are a striking contrast to 1994 when very few, if any, candidates in contested Assembly campaigns spent less than that amount. In short, even allowing for inflation, the cost of running for public office in 1994 required a dramatic escalation of resources over those necessary in 1970.

> Californians doubt the government's ability to deliver and are pessimistic about the state's, and their own, future.

Another vast dissimilarity between California today as opposed to 25 years ago is the state's population, both in numbers and composition. Whereas the 1970 census estimated California's population at slightly less than 20 million, estimates in 1994 put the figure well beyond 30 million people, with a projected population of over 36 million by the year 2000. This steep increase in numbers relates directly to the enormous increases in the cost of campaigns and the cost of providing government services.

The ethnic and racial composition of Californians also is very different from that of 1970. Whereas the number of white and African-American residents has been stagnant, the number of Latino ad Asian residents has risen sharply and certainly will continue to do so. Indeed, whites will be a minority in California in the not too distant future, as they are already in a number of areas, both urban and rural.

While the composition of the population has changed dramatically, the composition of California's voters has not followed suit. The *cjWeekly*, citing Field Institute numbers on October 3, 1994, described the electorate as 83 percent white, 8 percent Latino, 5 percent African-American and 4 percent Asian. Of those eligible to vote in 1994, 70 percent are white. The remaining 30 percent of eligible voters was composed of 14 percent Latino, 8 percent African-American and 8 percent Asian. Not only do voters differ from non-voters in terms of racial, social and economic characteristics, the two groups have different needs in terms of government services and public policies. As *Sacramento Bee* columnist Dan Walters observed, the growth and changing makeup of California's population will continue to place an ever expanding burden on government programs and policies. Meanwhile, many officials, probably correctly, fear voter backlash for virtually any new or enlarged programs or revenue sources.

Nowhere is this backlash more evident than in the many California cities where recall campaigns, many of them successful, have been launched shortly after council members voted to increase taxes. Similarly, 1994 also was the year when most bond issues, at all levels of government, in all parts of the state were soundly defeated. Thus, even with the quality of existing services deteriorating and a clear need for expanded, or new, services, California's voters are rejecting virtually all attempts to provide much-needed revenues.

Consequently, our newly elected Legislature and re-elected governor are faced with increasingly complex problems, severely limited revenues, reduced flexibility in setting priorities because of spending requirements set by initiatives, and voters unwilling to supply additional revenues. Further, the Legislature is divided, with a narrow majority of Democrats and independents in the Senate and an Assembly with 40 Republicans, 39 Democrats and one independent. Although the 40 Assembly Republicans mirror the total in 1970, the numbers are about all that is similar. Today, an overwhelming majority of members from both parties have served only since 1990 and, because of term limits, all face a short tenure of six years. Along with inexperience, the members have fewer and less experienced staff to assist them. They also are operating in a climate in which a high level of partisan dissension, ideological division, and a general lack of personal civility in political discourse complicate policy-making far more than was the case in 1970. This scenario renders decidedly more difficult the task of reaching a level of consensus necessary to enact legislation reflecting either their own approach to California's challenges, or that of Governor Wilson.

If the past four years, which saw a large majority of Republican legislators opposing budget proposals, even those of a Republican governor, is a forecast of the future, California's governing crisis likely will continue. However fractious the Legislature may be, it nonetheless takes a two-thirds vote to pass a budget, which means that all Republicans and a minimum of 14 Democrats, or some combination thereof, will have to vote for a budget. With Democrats having endured in recent years substantial Republican opposition to their efforts to reach an agreement on budgets with a Republican governor, the prospects for consensus seem poor. Moreover, because of their past attempts to handle large recurring deficits, the governor and the Legislature face automatic program cuts if revenues are short, which some believe will occur, possibly as early as 1995.

This grim prospect and political setting stands in stark contrast to the California of 1970. Today, myriad Californians doubt the government's ability to deliver and are pessimistic about the state's, and their own, future. Whereas few in 1970 doubted that their representatives in Sacramento could put aside partisan and ideological disputes long enough to enact legislation that would move the state forward, not many share that perception today. The "can do" spirit that has historically characterized California has languished as our divisions have deepened, and in its place we entertain an apprehension that California may be ungovernable. The governor and those 120 men and women in the California legislature will soon apprise us of California's tomorrow.

Larry Berg, PhD, is the founder of the Jesse M. Unruh Institute of Politics at the University of Southern California.

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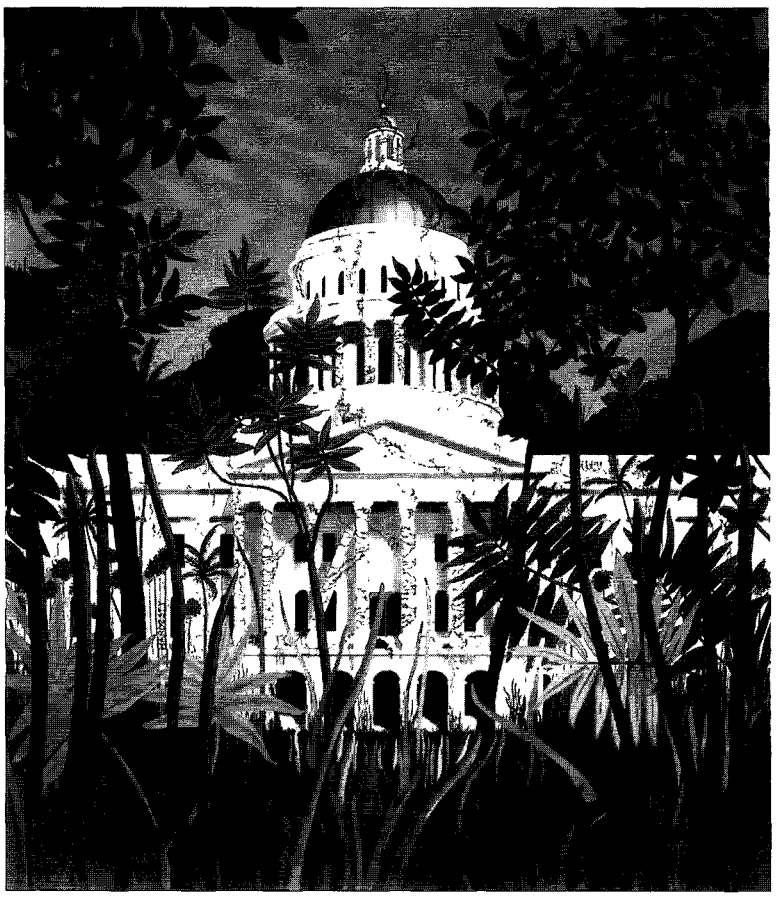
California dream in crisis

by Mary Ellen Leary



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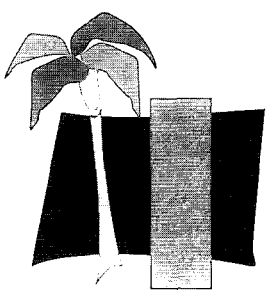

f it is true that America is entering a special era characterized by expanding communication, no state is better prepared to speed along that superhighway than California. Its political history and much of its economy have been shaped by an openness to communication, and that is still its mark.

It isn't only that motion pictures, radio and television found the California climate uniquely conducive to the development of these new means of expression and built them into vital elements in the state's economy. It isn't only that the state's higher education readied a generation so insistent upon self-expression that its "free speech" movement of the late '60s came to symbolize modern social change. More fundamentally than these milestones in communication, the state's politics has so favored communication from the voters that direct democracy via the ballot has come to be recognized as essential to the California dream.

California wasn't the first state to adopt the initiative, referendum and recall, but it was among the earliest and this freedom was pivotal among achievements by the Progressives of 1911, when Hiram Johnson wrested political dominance from the railroad monopoly and set California on the road towards new experiments in self-expression and self-government.

But the ballot is only one style of political communication that has shaped the California dream. In addition, non-political civic leaders have repeatedly shown a genuine interest in government and proved responsive when government confronted serious problems. California is blessed with participatory democracy of a very high level. The alertness to government's needs that civic leaders typically demonstrate may have its roots in the assertive role citizens assumed in the Progressive era.

Today the California dream is in collision with a state fiscal crisis. That much-touted "dream" — which seemed reality from the end of World War II to the early 1980s — saw a state growing steadily in population, its personal income higher than the national average, its well-paid jobs abundant, its educational system

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outstanding, its economy so diverse and so hospitable to innovation that a major share of the new technology centered here, and under the spell of sunshine, seashore and benevolent climate, its home-building grew strong, its financial institutions flourished. All that bred an optimistic public outlook in California, sure that tomorrow would always be better than today.

Unhappily there is now an awakening from the dream. Today looks glum indeed, not so much from the recession whose tide seems to be turning as from a governmental crisis in the structure of fiscal management. Some blame initiatives, especially Proposition 13, which not only slashed local property taxes but led to so confusing an inter-mix of state and local fiscal responsibilities that there is no longer any clear accountability. Some see federal mandates on entitlements as cause for the state's grave budget crunch. Some think the constitutional earmarking of funds for special purposes and the requirement of a two-thirds vote to pass the budget all contribute to the debacle. State finance officials claim the Legislature has discretionary power over no more than 10 percent of the entire budget, dealing with only three activities: higher education, prisons and the machinery of state operation. The rest is fixed in law. Because of all these constraints plus the recession and the reduction in federal spending for aerospace and military posts, California finds itself engulfed in the worst fiscal crisis it has ever faced. The state had to borrow $7 billion to see it through the next five years and forsees a $3 billion shortage as it opens the 1995 budget process.

Today the California dream is in collision with a state fiscal crisis.

Those agencies of government that were the underpinning of the "dream" life are now so troubled financially that the state economy and the quality of life for all its citizens are threatened as never before.

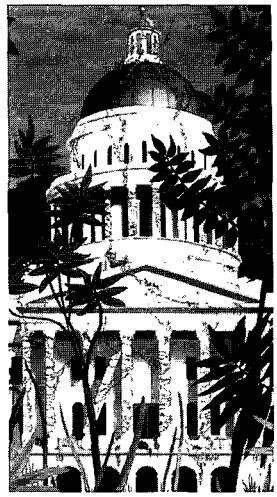
Elizabeth Hill, the legislative analyst, has written, "California's current system of government is structurally flawed... A major reworking of the state's system of government... [is] crucial to the state's future social and economic welfare."

The Legislature put it this way: "California's existing 'system' of government is dysfunctional."

The crisis is not the usual budget see-saw over where to tax and where to spend or cut. It arises from constraints incurred by so many different impediments in the process.

"The fiscal crisis in California is unusual. Something is fundamentally wrong," said Iris Lav, director of the Washington, D.C., Center on Budget and Policy, who spent some months here earlier this year on an analysis of the dilemma. "A dramatic change is called for," she said.

But one California characteristic, drawn from history, holds promise that a way can be found around the gridlock and stalemate that so threatens today. That characteristic is citizen concern. It does not yet reach to the average citizens. But among civic leaders throughout the state it has stirred an extraordinary concern.



Leaders of the major non-governmental institutions in California have voluntarily assumed a role for themselves in remedying the budget crisis. Instead of blasting incumbents or hitting out at government failures, an array of institutional leadership has initiated an astonishing range of studies dealing with the state budget entanglement. The aim is to propose remedial recommendations.

This is not a trifling exercise. There are so far 15 separate studies by distinct institutions presently examining California's fiscal crisis. New sectors keep awakening to the issue and adding more inquiries. Men and women are involved from organizations that include the California Business Roundtable, the California Manufacturing Association, the California Council on Competitiveness, the Los Angeles Grand Jury, the League of Women Voters, the Center of Budget and Policy Priorities, the Center of Continuing Study of the California Economy — and more, many more. Such a degree of involvement is testimony to a lively and functioning democracy, not the political dispair that pollsters read in the last election.

This is a communication highway on which traffic can move in both directions, and in this exchange between citizenry and politicians that is just beginning lies the promise of recapturing the California dream.

"This is one of the most important things happening in the state," said Jim Schultz of Advocacy Institute-West in San Francisco, which speaks for non-profit organizations in addressing government policy. "Among a wide variety of institutions — business, labor, public-interest groups, non-profits — there is a growing awareness that the state budget process is broken and cannot be fixed by governor-Legislature interaction. It requires an approach outside of politics.

"Networks of people focused on the budget and state structure are looking for a formula they can agree on to solve the problem."

They need also to bring the public into the discussion with sufficient understanding. To reach the average voter about this issue, the Advocacy Institute-West is forming a separate organization called "California Budget Project," funded by Ford Foundation and the Irvine Foundation, to run seminars throughout the state to train people in the budget structure and its hindrances, said Schultz. "We hope to reach the average citizen in a comprehensible way so he can see how much the quality of life in California and the vitality of the economy hinges on solving this stalemate."

Remarked Kirke Wilson, executive director of The Rosenberg Foundation, "I'm inclined to think that the initiative process, which invites voter decisions on so many policy issues, quickens an over-riding sense of responsibility for government among a lot of Californians. My friends in other states are astonished at the level of participation in government that voters accept here."

Such responsiveness represents a style of communication

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far more significant for the future than electronic push-button linkage.

Among the 15 studies, that which has the opportunity to become pivotal is the work undertaken by the Governor's Constitutional Revision Commission, created in October 1993. Its 23 members are appointed in part by the governor, in part by the Legislature and include some constitutional officials. They are well into their task of defining "a more responsive and productive form of government for California," their final report due in August 1995. They should be able to ponder many recommendations issuing from the separate citizen studies. One already complete is an analysis of abuses within the initiative process, that study headed by former Legislative Analyst A. Alan Post. The Constitution Revision Commission has a status that should speed some of the consensus into law. Or it may fall apart in partisan antagonisms.

Another significant group is the California Business-Higher Education Forum, initiated by University of California President Jack Peltason. This group, 30 top CEOs from business and 30 university or college presidents and chancellors, was forthright in calling its already completed report "A Plan for Action." This study identified and summarized work under way in 14 other groups and reported a consensus on reform is beginning to take shape.

It is not practical at this point to attempt a summary of these many studies and their recommendations, as far as currently formed. But this information can be obtained by writing the Forum at 300 Lakeside Drive, 22nd Floor, Oakland, CA, 94615-3550.

Curiously enough, the one sector that has not plunged into such governmental analysis is the media. Neither press, radio nor television appear to have put top executives or line operatives at work to share in this flurry of communication. They may feel their role requires them to stay aloof. But in interesting contrast the Progressive Movement actually grew out of concern for government reform among newspaper editors and political writers. The familiar names among them: Chester Rowell, then of the *Fresno Morning Republican*; Fremont Older of the *Bulletin*; Edward Dickson of the *Los Angeles Express*. They aroused the movement that put Hiram Johnson in office and led to the refashioning of much of California's government.

Today similar voices are needed. Moving forward with the remodeling of California's chaotic fiscal structure will depend on the media's level of concern, especially that of television, on which so many depend for news. Whatever develops from the multiplicity of studies persuading voters that government is important to their lives and its sound operation essential to the California dream will rest to a great degree on media reporting. In the thrust of interest in this crisis that has gripped so much of California's leadership, the missing segment may be the most essential.

Mary Ellen Leary is a veteran political writer who has covered California matters for more than 40 years. She has been a correspondent with The Economist *since 1967.*

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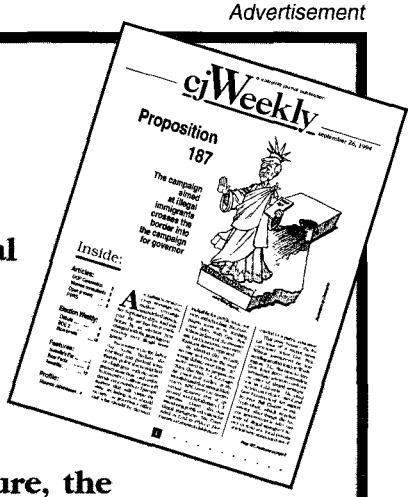

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Washington PERSPECTIVE

By Larry Liebert

Farewell to all that

In January 1987 I stood shivering in a phone booth, dirty snow piled at my feet. My temporary apartment in the Washington suburbs had no telephone yet, and I was calling *California Journal* editors to make certain the first of my columns had managed to reach Sacramento. Like many a frost-bitten transplant from the Golden State, I suspect I may have asked myself just then, "I left California for *this*?"

EIGHT YEARS LATER, AS I WRITE THE LAST OF THESE monthly essays, the conventional wisdom about California from the capital is far less envious and admiring than it used to be. The biggest state seems suspended in a bad dream. Its economy is still wheezing, long after the national outlook has improved. Its citizens are still literally jolted by quake aftershocks that serve as reminders of the state's God-given bent for disaster.

Jealousy of the state's vast military-industrial establishment has faded as cutbacks decimate defense industries and shut down military bases. The image of California as a living laboratory of human diversity has been tarnished by the rancorous debate over how to crack down on illegal immigration. And bankrupt Orange County doesn't exactly seem a glowing Mecca of suburban prosperity anymore.

In Congress, the complaints that California enjoys far more than its share of federal benefits have seemed muted in recent years, perhaps because so much of that aid has gone to disaster assistance. On this coast, stories about "California's Clout at the Capitol," a staple for California journalists who write from Washington (this writer included), no longer seem relevant. As the new Republican-controlled Congress goes to work this month, the state's Democratic senators can no longer boast of their clout with leadership. In the House, previously influential Democrats, such as Henry Waxman of Los Angeles and Vic Fazio of Sacramento, are merely minority members on subcommittees they once ruled. The new Republican leadership has voted to strip official status and government financing from special-interest caucuses such as California's Democratic delegation.

The state's House Republican delegation has been given such short shrift in the selection of top leadership posts that incoming Speaker Newt Gingrich felt compelled to create a "California task force" as a consolation prize. The "dean" of the state's GOP House delegation, Carlos Moorhead of Glendale, can find little to celebrate in his party's ascension to power: Gingrich, throwing tradition out the window, passed over the amiable but passive Moorhead for the chairmanship of not one but two committees on which he was the senior Republican. The only state Republican who made it into the senior House leadership is Christopher Cox, who is the new chairman of the Republican Policy Committee. To be sure, David Dreier of Claremont was given a major role at the start in developing a plan to slash back bloated congressional committees, although his party's senior members forced a retreat from Dreier's most ambitious proposals. And Bill Thomas of Bakersfield was made chairman of the committee that administers the House's internal affairs.

Still, that's a far cry from the glory days of California's influence, when the late Representative Phillip Burton exercised formidable power in the corridors of the Capitol. Even after Burton's passing, the state seemed destined to be well-represented by Democratic titans.

In fact, the first column I wrote in this space was about the rising star of the Central Valley's Representative Tony Coelho. I thought it a straightforward profile of an increasingly powerful politician, but Coelho took offense at one word in the entire column — as I recall, I had dared to describe him as "ambitious" — and refused to speak to me ever after. In the end, the ambitious Mr. Coelho's career ended ingloriously when he abruptly resigned rather than drag himself and his party through the ordeal of an investigation into the ethics of his personal finances. Coelho's dealings with junk bond kings and savings and loan tycoons were only a preview of the ethics mess that would close the career of the state's Democratic Senator Alan Cranston. (For my coverage of Cranston's role in the Keating Five affair, the senator wrote a scathing letter of complaint to my then-employers at the *San Francisco Chronicle*. He assured them that it was the only time he had ever felt compelled to complain about a reporter in his long career, which is exactly what he said when he complained to an editor of the *Los Angeles Times* about their reporter on the same story.)

FOR ALL THE STATE'S TARNISHED GLORY, California retains a special place in the national consciousness. When you say you're an ex-Californian, the eyes of easterners light up with memories of visits to the state or with images of its vistas. From Proposition 13 to Proposition 187 and from Jerry Brown to Pete Wilson, the state still plays a leading role in writing the nation's political agenda. As the next presidential race approaches, attention will be paid to Californians and their concerns because of the state's unrivaled electoral clout and its unaccustomed early spot on the 1996 primary calendar.

As a former political reporter who covered five presidential campaigns for California readers, I'll be watching with great interest from a considerable distance. In the four years since I left the *Chronicle*, I've been maintaining this monthly column as a sideline to my "day job" as an editor at *Congressional Quarterly*. In recent months, *CQ* has made me the editor of its daily publication, the *Congressional Monitor*, and that has left me too little time for these monthly musings on the California angles to national events. But I'm hoping to contribute an occasional article to the *Journal*. And, like many a California exile, as I shovel this winter's snow, my thoughts will turn to the still-tantalizing prospect of returning someday to live again in that troubled, disaster-prone, imperfect but altogether beguiling state.

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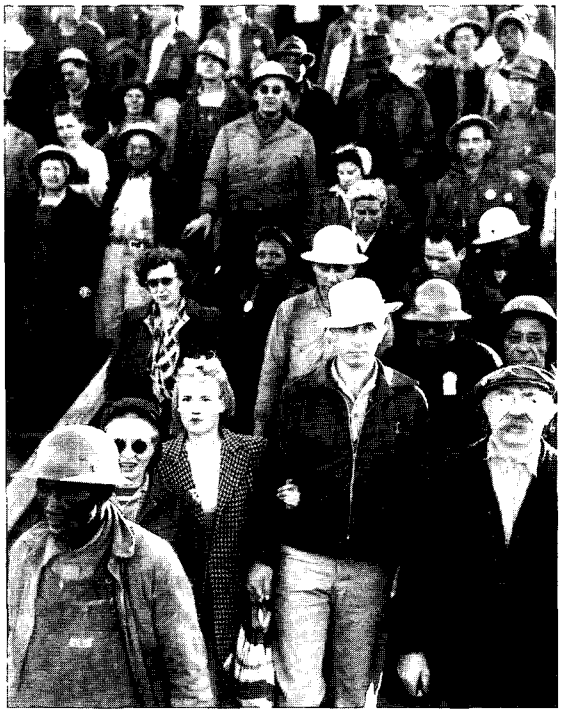

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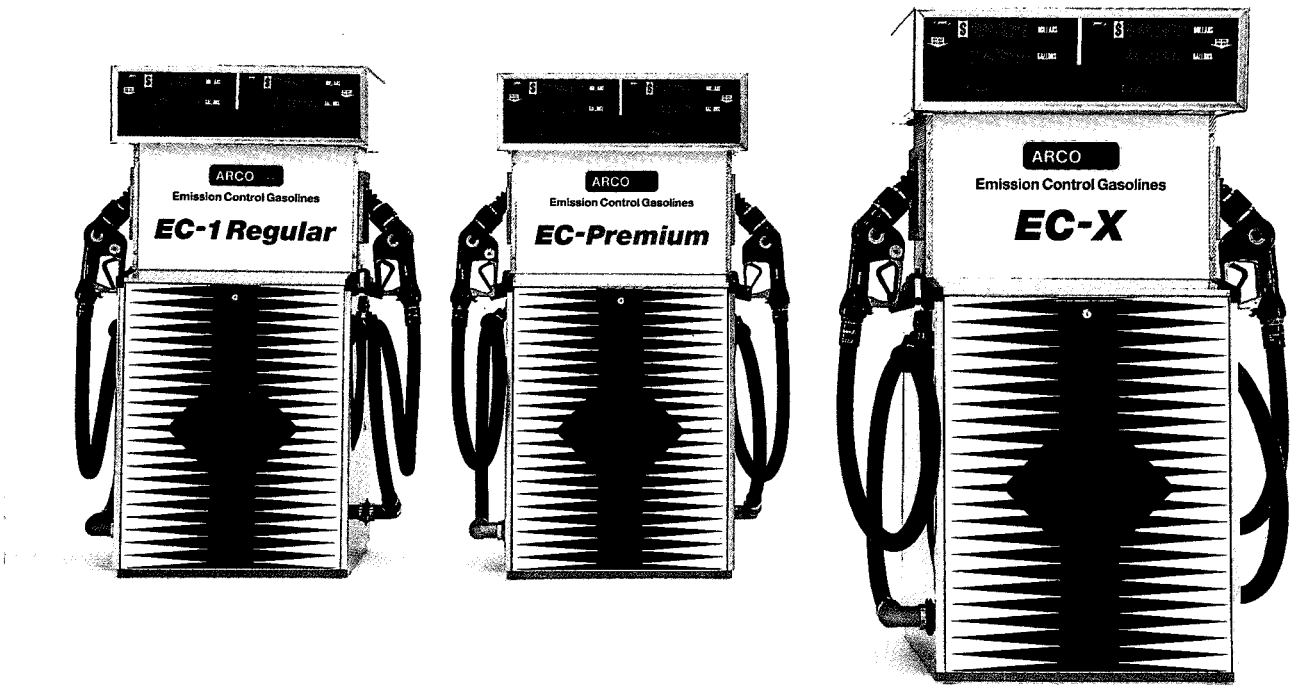

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In 1991, ARCO announced test results of a new formulation called EC-X, a fuel that would reduce vehicular emissions by an average of 3.8 million pounds per day if used by all vehicles in California.

Reformulated fuels represent the fastest, most economical and most practical way to clean up our nation's skies. More importantly, this environmental advance can be made using vehicles on the road today, with no retrofits required.

ARCO is proud of the role it has played in developing clean fuels for the future.

ARCO
CLEAN FUELS FOR THE FUTURE.

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